PROPOSITIONS FOR PEACE:

Propounded by the Kings most Excellent Majesty, to the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, and to his Excellency Robert Earl of Essex, Lord Generall of the the true Protestant Army.

Together with the Parliaments Answer thereunto.

Also Welcome News from the Earle of Bedford. Relating a great Overthrow lately given to the Marquis of Hartford, the said Marquis being dangerously wounded.

LONDON:

Printed for Henry Seymour, Septem. 27. 1642.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

VICTORIOVS

NEVVES

FROM

The Earle of Bedford.

Declaring his Proceedings againſt the Marqueſſe of Hartford, the L. Pawlet, and the reſt of the Cavaleers, ſince their marching from Shereborn

THe *Marqueſſe of Hartford* having information, that a great Number of freſh Supplyes were comming to aid and aſſiſt the Earl of *Bedford*, he forthwith reſolved to propound theſe following particulars, which was to this effect.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

By divers Letters I am informed, that His Majeſty is now going from *Nottingham to Shrewsbury*, and ſo to *Worceſter*, where I am deſired by divers Lords reſident with His Majeſty to withdraw my Forces from hence, and march towards *Worceſter*, to joyne my Forces with the reſt which are comming thither.

And when he had propounded theſe particulars to them, they all moſt willingly condiſcended to his Propoſitions, being joyfull that they had ſuch an opportunity to betake themſelves to flight.

But the Earl of *Bedford* being then at *Dorcheſter* with all his Forces, having information of their intentions, and that he had left the Caſtle, immediatly made after them, and purſued them with ſuch ſpeed, that on the ſecond dayes march he overtook them, being about two or three of the clocke

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in the afternoon, and after ſome time ſpent in conſultation of many matters of high conſequence, conc rning the King and Parliament, the Drums beate up for battle, and the Earl of *Bedfords* Forces made many happy ſhots againſt the Enemy, which did very good ſervice and execution againſt them, but ſtill the skirmiſh continued very deſperate on both ſides, each party ſtriving for the day, and indeed for a great while it was very doubtfull to which ſide it would fall on.

But at the laſt, being about five of the clock, Captain *Balfour* withſome others, drew out three hundred Horſe, and five hundred Foot, and charged the Enemy on the left flank and Reer, and performed very good ſervice therein, and as it is credibly reported, the Marquis is wounded, together with many more noble and undanted ſpirits ſlain, and after 3. or 4. hours skirmiſh, the Marqueſſe retreated, but the *Earle* doth ſtill purſue them very cloſe.

Pro-

Propoſitions for Peace, propounded by the Kings moſt excellent Maieſtie to the Earl of Eſſex.

THe Kings Majeſty having ſeriouſly weighed and conſidered the generall Affairs of this Kingdome, and the preſent Actions and Paſſages that are now ready to be put in execution.

His Majeſty out of his tender love and affection, that he beares to all his Subjects of this Kingdome, and the manifold and abundance of expreſſions of love and unity, that he hath oftentimes ſhewed and expreſſed to the Subjects of this Iland are manifold, and oftentimes have bin declared to His Subjects of *England and Scotland.*

Yet nevertheleſſe, His Majeſty ſeeing that the ſword is now ready to bee drawn, and the blood of His Subjects ready

ready to be ſpilt, He having for a long time took conſultation thereupon, and being now moſt gratiouſly pleaſed to declare His Royall intention and Reſolution once more to all His loving Subjects, He propounded theſe enſuing Propoſitions to the Honourable Court of *Parliament*,

viz.

1. *That although there hath beene many bitter and vehement expreſſions paſſed betwixt his Honourable Houſes, and his Royall Maieſty, yet to ſave and preſerve all his loving Subiects from being involvde in a Civill Warre, He is now gratiouſly pleaſed to recall the ſaid Proclamations and Declarations, and is deſirous to have theſe diſtractions brought to a happy end and concluſion.*

2. *That His Maieſty hath made moſt reall expreſſions for the prevention of all the preſent diſtractions in this Kingdome, and alſo the great care he took to avoid the effuſion of much innocent bloud.*

3. *That*

3. *That he hath not forgotten the Parliaments desire, to have his Royall person amongst them, which he will return to London, so soon as the cause of his Removall shall be taken away.*

The Parliaments Answer.

Shewing, That they have a hearty desire for the peace of this Kingdome, and do dayly labour and endeavour to preserve the same, desiring his Majesty to return to his great Counsell, and to treat with them, promising not onely safety to his Majesties person, but that they will also make him the most happy and flourishing Monarch, that ever swayed Scepter in these His Dominions.

BRITISH MUSEUM

FINIS.

Numb. 7.

SPECIALL

PASSAGES

And certain Informations from severall places, Collected for the use of all that desire to be truly informed.

From Tuesday *the* 20. *of Septemb. to* Tuesday *the* 27.

Worcester, September 20.

ON Friday last our Mayor and his brethren of the malignant party acted *Gerings* pranks, and betrayed the City to Sir *John Biron* and the Cavaliers that came with him from Oxford, being about three hundred. They are not a little glad of so good a place to shelter themselves in; for had they been kept out of this City, Master *Fynes* with his 1100. Dragooners would have met with them. Sir *John Pagington*, brother in law to the Lord *Coventrie*, is come hither, but the Lord *Coventrie* is gone to the King, which wee heare is going for *Shrewsbury*, and it is reported that His Majesty will come from thence hither. Sir *William Russell*, Sir *Henry Herbert*, Master *Muckley*, and many others of the Array men flock hither continually. The Bishop, and Doctor *Potter* are also here, and the Collegiates are excellent company for the Cavaliers, and can drink as devilish Healths as they. We used to have a Sermon in the afternoone every Sabboth in one of our twelve parish Churches, but this last Sabboth we were faine to be contented with one. Our honest and painful Minister Master *Halster* being faine to escape for his life, because they say he is a Round-head. Doctor *Potter* thinks now that the Altar that he erected in the Colledge, shall stand firme, and he is able to plead prescription;

for though it be the ſame ſtone that was there in Queen *Maries* dayes, and had been long time buryed in the ground, yet it was not beyond the memory of man, for he was directed where to find it by an old man of about an hundred yeeres of age. The Cavaliers ranſackt two or three honeſt mens houſes that night they came into the City, and have ſince committed many outrages; and for want of money, ſave the labour of chaffering, and take whatſoever they have a mind to. Great multitudes of people doe daily flock out of town, ſome carrying their goods with them, and others leaving them behind, and are glad to eſcape away for their owne ſafety. The Cavaliers are making ſome Fortifications about the gates of the City, and at the bridge, and ſet Centinels at every corner; but they have no Ordnance as yet, except one old ruſty Peece, which for many yeeres hath laine in the Colledge: but Prince *Robert* is daily expected to come hither, which they ſay will bring a great Force with him.

Colcheſter in Eſſex, Sept. 22.

ALthough Sir *John Lucas*, the Lady *Rivers*, and divers others that had their houſes ranſackt, have by vertue of the Ordinance of Parliament gotten againe great part of their goods, yet they can hardly heare of their money; and although it will not bring all of them to Church, yet they are in a better temper then before. After *Smith*, alias *Nevill*, (that ſent the 200. fat oxen to be ſold in Smithfield, to make money to ſupply the Cavaliers, and were ten of them ſold to a Butcher for 190 l. which the Parliament cauſed to be carryed into Guild-hall, and the other ten to the Victualler of the Navie) hath ſent to his Baiſiffe (he being in actuall ſervice with ten horſes of his owne againſt the Parliament) to delay no time for the gathering up his rents after *Michaelmas*. It being ſuſpected that there was Armes and Ammunition in his houſe, to be imployed againſt the Parliament, a great number of perſons agreed together to ſearch it: his ſervants having ſome notice thereof, took three or foure black Jacks, and planted about the houſe, letting nothing but the mouth of them be ſeene, which the people conceiving to be great Peeces of Ordnance, fled away without making any attempt upon the houſe, and ſo this Countie continues in peace and quiet.

Dublin

Dublin in Ireland, Sept. 5.

THe Earle of *Ormond* is here with his Forces, his Majesty having lately conferred new honour on him, and made him Knight of the Garter, since which his Lordship hath not gotten much honour in the Field, but a mind well disposed to vertue maketh noble, which is (upon good grounds) conceived to be in him, but his souldiers are much disheartned, hearing that many of the Commanders are daily sent for to His Majesty, and such relief as was comming to them, detained from them in England by the Cavaliers, and their Letters intercepted, that they are not able to make their wants known to the high Court of Parliament. And the Rebels taking notice of these carriages, grow more resolute and bold, yet have they no cause to boast of their successe, for they have lately received many great overthrows by the Protestants Forces, which slew about 1000. of the Rebels, with the losse of not above 100. men. And we heare that since *Galloway* was gotten from them, the Merchant Adventurers have given them many other great overthrows, and taken two strong Castles from them.

Hereford, Sept. 21.

ON Thursday last the trained bands of the County being summoned to appeare before Master *Coningsby*, Master *Wallop* *Brabazon*, and the rest of the Array men of this County, there was a great appearance, and indeed such is the tirranny that these men exercise over the Trained bands, that if any of them make any default, warrants are presently sent out to apprehend them, and imprison their bodies, and raise forces to fetch them in and disarme them, but when it comes to the tryall, and the Parliament forces once come into their Country, they will finde but few besides their own servants and tenants will stick to them, and for the present they are chiefely beholding to our Cathedrall Clergy, who preach very devoutly to maintain the division betweene the King and the Parliament, and thinke now to make use of that extreame ignorance and blindnesse, in which they have long nuzled the people; for they remember that when ignorance did chiefely abound in the North, they were easily drawn to rebell against the late Queene Elizabeth: the Bishop carries

himſelfe with a very equall hand, and will have the Canonicall prayers duly obſerved, and in the midſt thereof will walke out into a Warren adjoyning to his houſe, for feare any ſhould ſteale his coneys, and therefore no doubt hee is confident that he doth ſufficiently diſcharge his function: for he doth watch and pray. Many men do envie at the Lord *Scudamore*, and thinke his condition more happy then theirs, and thoſe that have beene the moſt active men with now that they had ſtood as Newters alſo.

It is reported that the Marqueſſe of Hartford is comming frō Sherbourne-Caſtle hither, there is much tampering with the Welſh-men, to charme many of them to go to aid the Marqueſſe and his company; and as we are informed, ſome of the raſcall Mountaineers are forward in the ſervice, becauſe they heare the Common-Souldiers in England weare ſhooes and ſtockings in the ſummer, and they go barefoot in the depth of winter.

Rome, Aug. 30.

HEre is great thirſting after newes out of England. One Fryer *Iohn*, Secretary to one of the Cardinalls, is the onely man that engroſeth the Engliſh intelligence, & is very diligent in making the ſame knowne to the Pope and Cardinalls. The Pope is contriving a way to ſend ſome money into England to help to maintain war againſt the Parliament, and to relieve the Rebels in Ireland, for it is conceived that theſe wars doe very highly concerne the whole Catholique cauſe.

Rotterdam, Sep. 14.

THe Queene is ſtill at Rotterdam, here is much talke of her comming away, but whether ſhee intends to go for England or Ireland, is not yet knowne: Foure men of warre are prepared to conduct her over: It was thought ſhee would have gone from hence within 14 or 15. dayes, but now it is reported that her Majeſty will ſtay a fortnight longer: The ſtates have ſent to her to know whither ſhe will be conducted, but as yet ſhee hath not returned them any anſwer.

Dorcheſter, Septem. 17.

THe E. of Bedford lying here with his Forces, intending to ſtay till he had more ſupply ſent him by the Parliament; the Marqueſſe alſo hearing that a great ſupply were comming to the

ſaid

said Earle, which he knew that he was no wayes able to resist, fled from Sherbourne Castle on Friday last with his three peeces of Ordnance, and about 30. wagons, and being fearfull to come neere Glocester, he hath left the downes and bent his course North-West, as if he intended to go towards Hereford, which if he doth, in that progresse here is like to meete with a spurie passage, by reason of the difficulty of getting over Severne, and the narrownesse of the wayes. News being presently brought to Dorchester to the E. of Bedford of the Marquesse his flight, he presently musters his Forces together, consisting of about 1000. horse & foot, & with all the speed he could made pursuit after the said Marquesse; and if he meetes with him I doubt not but he will cut off such a considerable part of them, that Secretary *Nicholas* may have better information then hee had, when he wrote his Letter to Sir *William Beswell*, concerning the Skirmish at Yevill neere Sherbourne, wherein he saith that the Marquesse lost but 15. men, and the E. 100. whereas it is certainly knowne that the E. lost not above 4. men, and the Marquesse neere upon 100. he confesseth that the Marquesse was glad to retreat to Sherbourne: And although he is now gone from thence, yet to flye is not to escape, it is many times to increase the danger.

Westminster, Sept. 23.

THe House of Commons taking into consideration, that a great cause of the present distractions have been occasioned by such as have all this while stood as neuters betwixt the King and Parliament, and whose complyance would have beene a meanes to have put an end long since to the present distractions of the Kindome, agreed that order should be taken that every man shall declare himselfe of what part he will be, and that such as stand as neuters shal make some reparation out of their estates towards the present charge of the Kingdome.

It was Voted and so Ordered in the House of Commons, that Sir *Bevill Grenvill*, & some others of the Army men in *Cornwall*, being Members of the House of Commons, should be expelled the House during this Parliament, and others chosen in their places.

The Earle of *Leicester* came to the Lords house, and at a confe-

rence of both Houſes the ſaid Earl made a ſpeech in excuſe of his long ſtaying with his Majeſty, after he was appointed to go over into *Ireland*, Lord Generall of the Army there, and complained of His Majeſties proceedings concerning the Iriſh affaires, and of the ſtopping of proviſion appointed to go thither, and His Majeſties delay to ſeale his Commiſſion, which now at laſt he had obtained, ſhewing his affectionate apprehenſion of the miſeries of the diſtreſſed Proteſtants in that Kingdome, and that he will not be wanting to uſe his beſt endeavours to reduce that rebellious Nation to the true ſubjection of the Crown of England.

Letters came to the Houſe from the Lo: Generall, informing that he was with his Armie upon his march towards Worceſter, to which place His Majeſties Forces were alſo drawing, and that he intended to be at Worceſter on Friday morning. Sir *John Biron* with about 300. Cavaliers having already entred into the City, and Prince *Robert* with 500. Troopers was marcheid neere Worceſter, with whom Maſter *Fines* (being before Worceſter with about 1000. Dragooners to lay a ſiege before the town) had ſome encounter, and cauſed Prince *Robert* to retreat back againe to *Enſam*.

Information was given to the Houſe, that His Majeſty came to *Shrewsbury* with the Prince, and about 3. Troops of Horſe on Tueſday laſt, but it is conceived that his Majeſty will not continue there, but will goe from thence to *Cheſter*.

The Houſe of Commons taking into conſideration, that divers Captains and other Officers that have been entred into pay by the Parliament, delay time in raiſing of their Companies, and to march downe to the Army, continuing here in London; drew up an Order that ſuch Captains as ſhould not make their appearance in the Armie by a day certaine, with their compleat Companies, ſhould be caſhired.

The Houſe have agreed upon the Petition for the E. of Eſſex to carry with him to be preſented to His Majeſty, together with Inſtructions which are to be obſerved by the Lord Generall, and a Declaration to be publiſhed through the Kingdome, and before the Kings Armie, to this effect, *viz.* That all ſuch of the Commanders, Officers, Souldiers, or any other that have been aiding

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and assisting to his Majesty in this war against the Parliament, shall have pardon, excepting such persons as the Parliament have already upon just grounds voted against as Traitors and Delinquents, and six others whom they have good cause to exempt from that mercie, viz. The Earl of *Cumberland*, E. of *Newcastle*, E. of *Bristol*, Lo. *Rivers*, *Endimion Porter*, and Secretary *Nicholas*. They were all sent away by Sir *Philip Stapleton*.

London, *Septem.* 24.

THe Committee in the City have made choice of a great part of their Officers for two Regiments of Foot and 4. Troops of Horse, which are to be employed for the defence and safety of the City, having made choice of such as are Freemen.

On Wednesday last ten prisoners were brought up to London from the E. of Essex his Armie; one of them being a Captaine which conspired to revolt from him, and turne to the King, and were committed to severall prisons.

This day 400. souldiers, by appointment of the Parl. went out of *London*, towards *Chester*, to secure it against the Lo. *Strange* and the Cavaliers.

On Wednesday last at night, two waggons laden with money went from Guild-hall, guarded with a Troop of Horse, which is sent to his Excellence. Plate and money comes still very fast to Guild-hall, so that notwithstanding the vast charge the Parliament is at, the great heaps of money and Plate do not decay.

Shrewsbury, *Sept.* 20.

THis day his Majesty is expected here; the Mayor having made great preparation for his comming, having gotten 4. of the Aldermen to contribute largely for that purpose.

Glocester, *Sept.* 24.

NEwes comming hither that the Marquesse of Hartford was gone from Sherbourne Castle on Friday last, and that the Cavaliers had taken Worcester, by reason of the treachery of the Mayor, which had admitted them entrance into the City. The Mayor of Worcester (Master *Sole*) being a great Grasier, and most of his lands lying neere unto Glocester, the Mayor and Sherife of that County seized upon all his fat oxen in his ground, being about two hundred, for the service of the King and Parliament:

ment: and 1000. of the Trained Bands of this County marched away presently to Tewxbury, intending to goe from thence to Worcester, to make good that place for the King and Parliament. But before they came at Tewxbury, (hearing that there were 6. or 700. Cavaliers in Worcester, and that M. *Fines* had besieged the Castle, and that the Lord Gen. was expected there) the Gloucestershire men stayed at Tewxbury, till they should receive further information and directions from his Excellencie.

Stafford, Sept. 23.

THis Majesty went from hence on monday last, and although it was generally reported that when hee went from hence that his Majesty intended to march towards Worcester, yet wee heare since that his Majesty is at Shrewsbury, and intends to draw his Forces thither, and if the Lord General march with his Forces towards Worcester, it is conceived that when Sir *John Byron* is besieged on the East and South side of the City, he will escape over the bridg with his Cavaliers and fly to Shrewsbury, but we hope that Master *Fynes* will transport such a competent number of men over Severn that the bridge may be secured before my Lord Generall comes hither. The Cavaliers have made some fortifications in this Town, and about 200. are left here to make good their workes, which are left here but on sufferance, for so soone as we shall receive information that the Cavaliers are driven out of Worcester, it is to be imagined that we shall not admit of these guests to stay with us, for they are generally hated throughout the County, & have committed many outrages in this place, which some honest men of our County are gone up to the Parliament to complain of, and that not without cause, for they have done much hurt in this Country.

THus

London printed for *Robert Wood*. 1642.

3.

A True RELATION OF His Majesties

Charles 1, K

Coming to the Town of *Shrewsbury*, on the 20 of this instant *September*, and His passage from thence the 23 day, to the City of *Chester*, with the manner of His entertainment there.

Together with the L: *Grandisons* Surprizing

NANTWICH,

And the plundering of divers houses in the Town and Country thereabouts, of such as stood well-affected to the King and Parliament.

Collected out of severall Letters from Men of good credit to their Friends in London.

London, Printed for R. R. Septem. 29. 1642.

BRITISH MUSEUM

HIs Majesty came to *Salop* on Tuesday last, with great strength both of men and Arms, where he stayed till Friday, and then came to *Woitchurch*, and went to *Chester*; I was one that was appointed to attend him thither, which I did, with divers more Gentlemen and Free-holders: His Majestie and the Prince dined in *Woitchurch*, and so went for *Chester*: when we came to *Miltongreen*, there was M. *Richard Edgerton* of *Ridley*, with some 600 Musketriers, and then when we came to *Hatton*-heath, there was the Lord *Rivers* with all his Forces, and my Lord *Cholmley* with horse and Foot, very compleat beyond the other; so they having displaid their Colours, gave his Majesty a valley of Shot; which being done, his Majesty having ridden once or twice about the Army, taken notice of the Sheriff and his Company, with divers other Gentlemen which were there, then came to *Rowton*-heath, where was Sir *Tho. Aston* with that Company he had, which did shew themselves as the other had done. Then his Maiestie set forwards for *Chester*; at *Boughton*, where the Liberty of the City beginneth, the two Sheriffs of *Chester*, with all their company attended: Then coming to the Bars, there attended the Maior and Aldermen, where the Maior delivered both *Mace* and Sword into his *Maiesties* hand, who received them, and gave them to him again, and so he marched before the King, with all the Aldermen and Sheriff, with all the Companies in Town with their Gowns, and all the Trained Bands of the City, with voluntiers set on each side of the Street, who discharged just as his *Maiestie* passed by. Thus was his *Majesty* attended to the Court with all the Bells ringing, Drums and Trumpets sounding.

Thus for His Majesties going to Chester.

Chester, Septemb. 24. 1642.

YEsternight, about 4 or 5 a clock, the King came into the City, attended with two Troops of Horse that came with him; and after his Majestie, came Sir *Thomas Aston* with his Troop: The Maior and Aldermen standing on a Scaffold in *Eastgate* Street, before *The Parnels* doore; Serieant *Brerewood* the Recorder made a Speech; but there was such great shouting for joy, that I think his *Maiesty* scarce heard him: and all the Companies standing with their Arms in the *Eastgate* street, to entertain his *Maiesty*; and the Sheriffs, and *Sheriffs peers, and such as have been *Leave-Lookers, rid out of Town in Scarlet (as they use to ride out at *Midsummer*) to meet his *Maiesty*, with all our Trayned Bands: The *Maior* rid before his *Maiesty*, carrying the Sword, from the Scaffold to the Bishops Pallace, as I am told for truth by them that saw them. The Lord *Dillon*, and another Irish Lord a great Rebell, came with his *Maiesty* into the City: Sir *Richard Wilbraham* met his *Maiesty*, and fell down on his knees to him, but his *Maiesty* would not take notice of him; he and Sir *Tho. Delves* are committed to the Sheriff: both those Knights declared themselves for the Ordinance of the *Militia*: It is thought there are Warrants out for the apprehending of many other Gentlemen.

*Sheriff peers are such as have been Sheriffs.

*Leave Lookers is an office one degree under the Sheriff.

Yesterday, about two hours before his *Maiesty* came, there came about a Troop of the Lord *Strange* his horse, and 80 horse loads of *Muskets* and Bandaliers, and such like Provision, which were laid in our common Hall; and there are 200 more at the Lord *Strange* his house, that came from *Newcastle*. The Lord *Strange* hath delivered those Arms that were taken from papists in *Lancashire*, to them again, and threatened the Maior of *Leverpool* to batter down the Town, if he would not deliver them; it is said there are 5000 coming thorow *Lancashire*, which came out of the North for his *Maiesty*. Yesternight, at 9 a clock, the Lord *Strange* came in-

into this City with one or two Troops of Horſe. This day all betwixt the age of 16 and 60 yeers, of the Trayned Bands of the County, are ſummoned to appear before his *Majeſty* at *Hoo*-heath, two miles from *Cheſter*.

Upon Wedneſday laſt the Town of *Nantwich* were in ſome fear leſt they ſhould be diſarmed, and ſtood upon their Guard, and ſome ayd came to help them; but that night following about 1000 horſe came thither; the Lord *Cholmley* came with them, with the Commiſſion for the Array; they were to have a parly, the Town would have been delivered, ſo that they might have their Arms and Liberties; this while the other ſide got in at back Gardens, and diſarmed all, and plundered ſome houſes: The day following they went to Sir *Richard Wilbrahams*, and Sir *Tho. Delues*, and diſarmed them, took their horſes, and three Cart load of Armour from them, and do further proceed, doing much harm at many other places and houſes. It is thought our *Maior* and Aldermen intend to give the King a ſum of money.

Nantwich, Septemb. 24. 1642.

Good Couſin,

I Preſume you hear of the paſſages at *Nantwich* on Wedneſday laſt: The Town, after ſome preparation for reſiſtance, received the Lord *Grandiſon*, and 1100 horſe, fearing if they had by force of Arms driven them back, his Majeſty being in thoſe parts, would have revenged the ſame in a ſeuere way: Being ſuffered to come in, he preſently diſarmed the Town, and Countrey-men there; I for company loſt my Rapier.

The day following, they took Arms from *Crew* hall for 20 men, but did no other violence; Sir *Thomas Delues* left his houſe empty, and much Arms on the hall Table for them: They deale more harſhly at Mr. *Wettons*, taking many other things beſides Arms; No violence that I could hear of was offered to any mans perſon in *Nantwich* on Wedneſday, but

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to one *Radcliff*, an honeſt man, about *Wiſtaſton*, who was ſhot into the hand and ſhoulder, becauſe he was ſlow in delivering his *Muſket*: They have alſo been in divers other houſes in *Bartomley* Pariſh, the Parſons for one; and what they have done on the other ſide of the Town I know not. The Gentlemen and Trayned Bands are to attend his *Majeſty* this day at *Hatton* heath.

The Earl of *Eſſex* is expected in *Cheſhire* to morrow or on *Munday*: The face of things in *Cheſhire* is ſtrangely altered; we did not make our due returns when we had got more quiet times, God in his mercy prevent the effuſion of innocent blood: If you have not already bought that little millitarie proviſion I beſpake, I think its beſt to make a ſtay thereof, for I fear no ſuch thing can be either ſafely ſent hither or kept here, our Arms muſt be prayers and tears, for we have not ſo much as a ſword to defend us, God of his mercy keep you, pray for us I beſeech you good Sir, as he will do for you, who is your moſt obliged friend and Cozin,

W: R:

September

September 23. 1642

Good Sir,

THe latter end of your Letter is somewhat comfortable, in that you write there are some Dragons coming into *Cheshire* for our relief, but surely they are not come, and now will come too late for we are all plundred and undone; *Nantwich* is taken by My Lord *Grandisons* Army, and the Town disarmed, and many houses plundred who stood for the Parliament and *Militia*, the owners of them driven to run away for safety of their lives, for they have threatned them much, and after they had disarmed the Town, they came into the Country, and disarmed all the great houses: First Sir *Thomas Delues*, then my Lord *Crews*, then Sir *Richard Wilbraham*, and for all the other Gentlemen round about us, and plundred their houses, they being forced not onely to leave their own houses, but also the Town of *Nantwich*, and their poor Tenants and Country men, to the mercy of those merciless Villains who will have what they list, nay they will have what we have not for them, or else they will set a Pistoll to our throats and sware God damne them they will make us swallow a Bullet, some of them are not content to take what Arms they can find, but also Money, Plate, Linnens, Cloathes, Writings, Meat, Drink, and not therewith content, but teare our horses and maers, drive our women and children into such feare that they over-run their houses, ly in the fields, ditches and woods, I do not heare of the like cruelty that hath been used any where but in that miserable and bleeding Kingdom of *Ireland*, we are like to be worse yet, for this

this day the King is at *Cheſter*, and all the whole County from 16 years to 60. is to meet and attend His Majeſty, and the Commiſſioners of Array within half a mile of *Cheſter* with all their Arms which they haue left, none of them refuſe to come, the malignant party will inform againſt them, and then they are threatned to be all carried away with my Lord *Grandiſons* Army, the beſt of it is, if we ſtay at home we are now their ſlaves, being naked they will haue of us what they liſt, and do with us what they liſt, however, I believe we ſhall be made the ſeat of War, and ſo be utterly ruined and undone, for want of help in time and true hearts amongſt our ſelves, I thank God hitherto I haue eſcaped, yet with much fear and danger, but I muſt confeſſe it is more of the goodneſſe and mercy of my good God, then of any deſeart in me, God grant I may make a good uſe of it and give him the glory; The ſecondarie means was, I having acquaintance with ſome of the Cavaliers, who formerly were ſome thing beholding unto me, I now find it to be ſomething better with me and ſome friends of mine then I or they expected, and yet our feares are great when houſes neighbouring haue bin plundred twice over, and the owners thereof watched for, as the Cat watcheth for the Mouſe, what they would do with them, or how they would uſe them, God knowes, I pray you pardon my errors in writing, for my feares and diſtractions are great; I onely deſire you to pray for us, and let us heare from you; God knowes how long or ſhort a time we ſhall heare one from another, the Lord fit us for theſe ill times, and worſer which I much feare. So prayeth your much obliged friend, &c.

To heare the pittyfull ſcriking, weeping, and howling of women and children, did more trouble me then any thing elſe; God grant I never heare the like.

FINIS.

4

RESOLVED VPON THE QUESTION.

OR

A Question Resolved concerning the Right which the King hath to *Hull*, or any other Fort or place of strength for the defence of the Kingdome.

Wherein is likewise proved, that neither the setling of the *Militia* as tis done by the Parliament, nor the keeping of *Hull* by Sir *Iohn Hotham*, nor any other Act that the Parliament have yet done is illegall, but necessary, just, and according to that power which the Law hath given them.

K.

By *Peter Bland* of *Grays-Inne* Gent.

Sty: 29.

Printed for *Matthew Walbancke*, 1642.

BRITISH MUSEUM

TO THE WORTHY TO be honoured IOHN PYM Esquier, one of the Members of the Honourable House of Commons in Parliament assembled.

SIR,

WHen my reason is made known, I hope my presumption in dedicating these poore lines to your worthy selfe will appeare more pardonable: I wrote not out of an ambitious thought of instructing the profoundest judgements, but only to satisfie them, that for want of knowledge, lay scandalous imputations, not only upon that honourable House of Parliament in generall whereof you are a member, but especially, and in particular upon your upright selfe; for my owne part, I am the least member of this distracted Kingdome, but have as good a right to the benefit of those lawes this happie Parliament hath enacted as the greatest, and therefore am bound by way of thankefulnesse to vindicate their iust intents and actions, against the opprobrious language of malignant Spirits: to the doing of which, this is my weake but hartie endeavour if you please to give it patronage it may deserve the presse, therefore let your acceptance adde courage to the future imployments of him, who is both to your selfe and to his country.

A faithfull servant

PETER BLAND.

To the Reader.

READER,



Ho ere thou beest, read with a ſpirit as free from Faction as your Authour, who deſires neither to trample on Maieſtie, nor deſpiſe the authority of ſo high a Court as that of Parliament, but to give his due reſpects to both: What you finde amiſſe gently correct; his ambition is either to convince others more ignorant, or be ſatisfied from others more knowing than himſelfe. He wrote not this as if the Parliament knew not Law ſufficient to iuſtifie their own actions, but to deſtroy their wonder whom he hath heard admire that the Parliament did not prove their own acts by viſible Law, as well as diſprove the Kings: time and greater engagements will not permit them to ſhew every private man the publicke neceſsities; 'Tis ſufficient they diſcern them, and this is argument enough to prove that ſiniſter reſpects can never prevaile with them to do unlawfull acts, viz. *becauſe it can be no benefit to them (were it not the Kingdoms ſafety only that they aym'd at) to ſpend their time, and hazard their lives and fortunes by ſteering in ſuch cruell ſtorms, for 'twere not wiſedome in them that would fiſh, to trouble the waters themſelves.*

FAREWELL.

BRIT. MUSEUM

THE

The Queſtion that is RESOLVED.

WHether the right which the King hath to *Hull*, and all other Forts of ſtrength for the defence of the Kingdom be by diſcent from the Blood-Royall, or by way of truſt.

And for my part, I conceive He hath it by way of truſt: but to reſolve this queſtion, I ſhall take leave of my ſelfe to uſe my owne method. Which ſhall be firſt to ſhew the ſtrongeſt arguments that can be urged by them of the contrary opinion, who ſtand ſo much upon the diſcent, as to drown the truſt; and afterwards I ſhall prove that notwithſtanding all that they can ſay, he hath it by way of truſt only.

Firſt then to argue for his diſcent, thus I prove it: If He have it in His naturall capacity, then he hath it by diſcent; but He hath it in His naturall capacity, *ergo*,

The conſequence will not be denied, for I intend by His naturall capacity, as *Charles* the Sonne and Heire apparent of King *Iames* His Father of bleſſed memory; and if it be granted He hath it ſo, then ſurely the conſequence muſt ſtand good.

Then for the Minor, that He hath it in that capacity, thus I prove it.

If the Treaſon which he commits that keepes one of thoſe Forts, and levieth War againſt the King and His Liege people be againſt the King in His naturall capacity, then the minor is good; and that that Treaſon when any one commits, it is againſt him in that capacity, thus I prove it.

But I deſire not to be miſtaken, for I aym not at the worthy act of Sir *John Hotham*; for I hold it not levying of War within the letter of the Statute of 25. *Ed.* 3. if it were an offence that might taſt of Treaſon (but I hold it is not) yet being out of the words of that Statute the Parliament and not the King himſelfe nor his Judges are to Judge of it by vertue of a clauſe in that act by which their predeceſſors have reſerved that power for them:

But to goe forward with what I am to prove, *viz.* that ſuch a Treaſon as is mentioned before, nay any Treaſon is againſt him in his naturall

rall capacity: it appeares by the forme of indictments for Treason, for they must and doe alwaies conclude *contra ligeantiæ suæ debitum* and so *Cooke lib. 7 Calvins* case; which words proove that Treason is against him to whom ligeance is due, and then pray if it be against him to whom ligeance is due, is it not against the naturall King, that is, against the King in his naturall capacity? for all that knowes but the definition of the politique capacity will confesse that ligeance or homage cannot bee done to such a body as is invisible.

And therefore, of an Alien enemy come and possesse himselfe of any of the Kings Forts, and levies warre against him, and then is taken, this is Treason and yet our law in this case doth refuse to try him as out of its jurisdiction because he cannot bee tried by indictment, for being no liege man to the King, the indictment cannot conclude that it was *contra ligeantiæ suæ debitum*: and therefore hee shall bee put to death by Matiall law: and so it was in 15. *H.* 7. *Perkins Warbecks* case, who being an Alien borne in *Flanders* fained himselfe to be one of the sonnes of *Edward* the Fourth, and invaded this Realme with great power, with an intent to take upon him the dignity royall: But being taken in the warre, it was resolved by the Justices that hee could not be punished by the Common Law; but before the Constable and Marshall (who had speciall commission to heare and determine the same according to Marshall Law) he was sentenced to bee drawne, hang'd, and quartered, which was done and executed accordingly: and this appeares in the booke of *Griffeth* Attorney Generall, and in the booke of *Hobart* Generall to *Henry* the Seventh, and you may reade it likewise in *Calpins* case *Cooke Lib. 7. fol. 6. b.* and cases to the same purpose may reade in 4. *Mar. br.* 32. & 3 & 4. *Ph. & Mar. Dyer.* 144.

I shall not raise arguments to prove that Ligeance is due to the King in his naturall capacity, as it was adiugded in 6. *Jacobi* neither shall I mention how that the words of the letters pattents of qeniztion be that the Patentee shall behave himselfe *tanquam verus et fidelis ligeus domini regis*, which proves that ligeance is due to the King in his naturall capacity, for all this is not to my purpose, but because the Kings Majesty himselfe whom I never thinke but with reverence hath made use of the last argument, and others may and doe urge the former, I shall sett downe the definition of the Kings politique capacity out of which the reader himselfe (though but of slender Iudgment) may have reason sufficient to answer all the arguments hither to which seeme to be of such force.

The

The definition of it is this, it is a body framed by the policy of man, invisible, immortall, not subject to any infirmity, nonage, or infancy, so tis definid in *Calvins* case.

And who cannot gather a reason (from hence) sufficient to deny the last Consequence; and say that though treason commited against the King by keeping of those forts from him be treason against his naturall capacity, yet it doth not follow that he hath them, it hath capacity: for the King hath but two capacities, his naturall and his politique: now according to the definition of the latter their can be no treason committed against that capacity it being an inanimate and invisible body, therfore needs must indictments conclude the treason to be against the natuerall capacity; but if that should bee a good consequence that therefore he holds them in that capacity, then the next consequence would be that hee might sell them when hee please, which is directly against the Law, as was resolved by the whole Parliament in *Ed.* the thirds time, at which Parliament King *Iohn* his resigning his Crowne and Kingdome of *England* to the Pope, being discussed, upon mature deliberation, the Lords both Spirituall and Temporall, and all the Commons resolved with one accord that no King can put his Realme nor his people under such subjection without their assent, and contrary to his oath.

The next argument may be urged is this, if immediately upon the death of any King the next heire is compleatly & absolutely King without any essentiall ceremony or act to be done, *eapost facto*: then hee that comes in as next heire hath it by discent and not by way of trust. But when a King dieth, immediately the next heire is King without any especiall ceremony, *ergo*,

For the Minor thus I proye it, it is expresly said in *Calvins* case, that the King holds the Kingdome of *England* by birthright inherent by discent from the bloud Royall, whereupon succession doth attend, and therefore tis usually said to the King his Heires and Successors, where the word Heires is first named & in *primo Maria Dyer.* 92. a. tis expresly said, that the customes are annext to the Crowne, and the King hath an inheritance in them.

In the first yeare of King *Iames* his raigne if I mistake not; before his Majesties Coronation *Watson* and Clarke Seminarie *Preists*, were of opinion that his Majestie was not compleat and absolute King before his Coronation: Now if that were not Law, the minor must needs fall, for then though a right to the Crowne discended, yet it was in them or others to make him compleatly King by turning his

possession

poſſeſſion in Law (as it were) into an actuall poſſeſſion, or elſe to hinder him from raigning: But you ſhall find it reſolved (by all the Iudges of England then being) contrary to the opinion of thoſe Preiſts that preſently by the deſcent his Majeſty was compleatly and abſolutly King without that cerimony, and that Corronation was but a Royall ornament and outward ſollemniſation of the diſcent: for example.

You ſhall find that *Henry* the ſixt was not crownd untill the eigth yeare of his Raigne: and yet divers men before his Coronation were attainted of treaſon, which clearly proves he was King before that cerimony was performed, for if he had not beene King how could any man have beene attainted of treaſon for treaſon is a breach of allegeance and if there had been no King there could be no allegeance due, and if no ligeance had been due, no breach of it could be made, and then no treaſon; and this is made manifeſt by the reports of the 5. 6. 7. years of the ſame King which you may read at large in *Cooks* reports *lib.* 7. *fol.* 11. a.

Another argument to prove that when any King of *Eng.* dies, his next Heire is King preſently by diſcent, without any ceremony, may be this: If he ſhould not be King preſently upon the death of the Father or Anceſtour, but muſt ſtay for ſome other ceremony to be done; then there would be an *inter regnum* in *Eng.* which the Laws will not ſuffer.

And to prove that the Laws do not ſuffer an *inter regnum*, 'tis eaſily gathered from the caſe in 9. *E.* 4. 51. where it is ſayd, that if the King be ſeized of land by a defeaſeable title, and dieth ſeizd this diſcent ſhall toll the entry of him that hath right, which proves that he that is next King coming in as Son, hath it by diſcent, otherwiſe the entry of him that hath right could not be taken away: and it proves likewiſe, that he muſt not ſtay for His Majeſty till ſome Act or other be done, for then there would be an *inter regnum* till that Act or ceremony were paſt, and when that Act or ceremony were paſt, then he ſhould be in (as it were) from that Act, and then the entry of him that hath right cannot be taken away, and ſo is *Littleton* in his chap. of diſcents.

There is likewiſe another caſe in our books, from whence you may draw the ſame concluſion, viz. If the Prince commit treaſon or murder, he muſt be tried according to Law as well as another ſubject, for he is but a Subject, for there can be but one King at the ſelf ſame time, in the ſelfe ſame Kingdome: But now if the King dyes before the Prince be tried, the very immediate diſcent of the Crown purgeth him of his treaſon or murder, or what ever his fact be, ſo that he ſhall not be arraigned, or tried for it.

Which

Which caſe proves that he hath the Crowne immediately upon the diſcent; for if there were any ceremony that were eſſentiall to making him King, that ceremony might be delaid and the Prince might be attainted.

If the Diſſeiſor of an Infant convey the Land to the King who dieth ſeiſed, this is ſuch a diſcent as ſhall take away the entry of the Infant, and ſo are the Books of 34. H. 6. 34. and 45. Aſſ. pl. 6. & *Plowd. com.* 234. which proves clearly the diſcent. tis part of the oath of allegiance which is uſed to this day in every Leet, *That you ſhall be true and faithfull to our Soveraigne Lord King* Charles *and his heirs*; which word *heires*, proves the diſcent.

And thus I have ſhewed you other arguments, which may be uſed to deſtroy the truſt: but according to my promiſe in the beginning, I muſt now ſhew where the fallacie and their miſtake lyes that uſe thoſe arguments. And it lyes in the conſequence; for though the King comes to the Crowne by diſcent, yet it does not follow that therefore he hath it not by way of truſt: for without doubt, the truſt deſcends with it and the truſt is that onely which he hath by diſcent: for, as I ſaid before, if the King had ſuch an eſtate by diſcent, as they conceive he hath, then he might ſell the Crowne, or diſpoſe of it as he pleaſed.

The Parliament did give *Henry* the eight power to diſpoſe of the Crowne to whom he pleaſed, by his Letters Patents or laſt Will; but when he intended to goe in perſon againſt France, and therefore deſired to have the Crowne ſetled becauſe he would not breake that truſt his people had repoſed in him; you ſhall finde that in 35. of that King, the Crowne was ſetled by a Parliament then holden; and in the Preamble of that Statute that King himſelf did acknowledge the truſt and confidence his people had formerly repoſed in him.

And to prove farther that a truſt doth deſcend to the King of *England* with his Crown, I ſhal ſhew how Kingoms firſt began, and I ſhal take a difference betweene Kingdomes ruled by royall government, and Kingdomes of politique governance: and that was the difference made in anſwer to the Prince, who demanded how it came to paſſe, *quod Rex unus plebem ſuam regulariter tantum regere valeat, ſed regi alteri poteſtas hujuſmodi denegatur Forteſcue de laudibus legum Angliæ, cap.* 10. and I hope the ſame difference which did ſatisfie the Prince, will ſatisfie any troubleſome ſpirit of theſe times.

For the firſt, the Kingdome ruled by royall government, I ſhall ſhew you how it firſt began, as it appeares by the Author laſt cited,

cap. 12. and it was thus; Men in times paſſed excelling in power, and being greedy of glory and dignity, did many times by plaine force ſubdue unto them their neighbours the Nations adjoyning, and compelled them to doe them ſervice, and to obey their commands, which commandements afterward they decreed to be unto theſe people very Lawes; and by long ſufferance of the ſame, the people ſo ſubdued, being by their ſubduers defended from the injuries of others, agreed and conſented to live under the Dominion of the ſame their ſubduers, thinking it better for them to be under the empire of one man, which might be able to defend them againſt others, then to be in danger to be oppreſſed by all ſuch as would offer them wrong by violence: and thoſe ſubduers thus ruling the people unto them ſubdued, tooke upon them to be called Rulers which our language tearmes Kings; *reges a regendo, eorum quoque dominium tantum regalis dictus fuit*; and their rule or domination onely was named royall or Kingly, *Forteſcu.*

Now in ſuch a Kingdom I beleeve no truſt was anext to the Crown for that King uſurpt and compelled them to obedience; and tis ſuch a Kingdome, that thoſe who are ſo violent againſt the Parliament doe imagine this Kingdome of *England* to be, or elſe would have it ſo. But ours is the Kingdome of Politique and Regall governance, and it hath raiſed it ſelfe into a body, whereof the King is the head; *& ut non poteſt caput corporis phiſici nervos ſuos commutare, neque membris ſuis propria vires & propria ſanguinis alimenta denegare: ſic neque rex qui eſt caput corporis politici mutare poteſt leges corporis illius, nec ejuſdem populi ſubſtantias proprias ſubtrahere, reclamantibus eis aut invitis, Fort. cap.* 13. *fol.* 32.

Sicut in naturali corpore, ut dicit Philoſophus, cor eſt primum vivens, habens in ſe ſanguinem quem emittit in omnia ejus membra inde illa vegetantur & vivunt: So in the body politique (ſaith *Forteſc. fol.* 31.) the intent of the people is the firſt lively thing, having within it blood, that is to ſay, politique proviſion for the utility and wealth of the ſame people, which it dealeth forth and imparteth as well to the head as to all the members of the ſame body, whereby the body is nouriſhed and maintained.

So that you ſee hereby that our Kingdome of *England* is not of a Royall Government onely, neither is the Crowne of ſo ſhining a temper as to enable the King to rule by the Law within his owne breſt; no you ſee the intent of the people is the *primum vivens* which like the heart, *emittit ſanguinem* both to the head and all the members.

And

And thus the Kingdome of *England* out of *Brutes* retinue of the *Troians* which he first brought out of the coasts of *Italy* and *Greece*, first grew to a politique and regall Dominion; *& ad tutelam legis ſubditorum, ac eorum corporum ac bonorum, rex talis erectus. Fort.* 32. and the ſame Author goes forward, *& ad hanc poteſtatem a populo effluxam ipſe habet, quo non licet ei poteſtate alia populo ſuo Dominari.*

And ſee the Prince himſelfe acknowledgeth as much to his Chancellour being ſatisfied with the difference before taken; for in the 14. chapter of the ſame Author fol. 34. ſayes the Prince, *effugaſti concellarie, declarationis tuæ lumine tenebras, quibus obducta erat arcedmentis eriſdæ:* So that, ſaid he, I doe moſt evidently ſee that no Nation did ever of their owne voluntary minde incorporate themſelves into a Kingdome for any other intent, but onely to the end, that thereby they might with more ſafety then before maintaine themſelves and enjoy their goods from ſuch misfortunes and loſſes as they ſtood in feare of; for if they had not bin, ſaith he, *nullam obtineret poteſtatem ſuper ipſos rex hujuſmodi:* which proves without doubt the diſcent of a truſt.

And for further proofe that our Kingdome is not of regall onely, but alſo of a politique governance: ſee *Fort. fol.* 25. *b.* where you may read word for word what I have penned, *viz.* the King of *England* cannot alter nor change the Lawes of his Realme at his pleaſure; for why? *principatu namque nedum regali, ſed & pollitico, ſuo populo Dominatur.* And were it otherwiſe, the King might take away the lives and eſtates of any Subjects at his pleaſure; but in our Kingdome *non ſtat pro ratione voluntas.*

And as much may be gathered from the words of *Severus* the Emperour, who being at *Yorke*, and one lying proſtrate at his feet craving pardon for ſome ſmall fact he had committed, in the midſt of his fury forbore to ſtrike, ſaying, tis not my hand muſt governe the Empire.

And the ſame Emperor ſhortly after ended his life in the City of *Yorke* with theſe words, I found the State troubleſome every where, and I leave it quiet even to the *Britaines*, and the Empire ſure and firme to my children if they be good, but unſure and weake if they be bad.

My Lord *Cooke* in the firſt part of his Inſtitutes, fol. 50. *b.* obſerves that *Littleton* ſpeakes of the Kings prerogative but twice in all his Booke, and in both places, ſaith *Cooke*, he makes it part of the Lawes

of *England*; ſo that hence we may gather, that though the working braines of theſe times plead his Prerogative to him, yet that cannot enable him to doe what the Law forbids: for his Prerogative is but what power the Law gives him, and that power cannot be made greater without the aſſent of the whole Realme; *Fort. fol.40.ca.18.* and what is the reaſon of this our happineſſe, that the King cannot make new Lawes, dam old ones without the Subjects conſent, but this? becauſe our Kingdom is not governed with a power onely royall but alſo politique.

Ariſtotle in 3. *Politic.* ſaith, *melius eſt civitatem regi viro optimo quam lege optima:* it is better for a City to be governed by a good King then by a good Law. But for as much as every King is not ſuch a man, therefore Saint *Thomas*, in the Booke which he wrote to the King of *Cyprus* of the governance of Princes, wiſheth the State of a Realm to be ſuch, that it may not be in the Kings power to oppreſſe his people with tyranny.

For my part I did not looke upon our gracious King when I coated this; for of himſelfe I take him to be that *vir optimus*, were he not miſled and drawne to ſuch engagements as will ruine himſelfe, his poſterity and Kingdome, if not by thoſe of his beſt Councell prevented; I meane the Parliament, who are engaged both for the ſafety of the Kings Majeſties perſon and poſterity, of themſelves and the whole Kingdome, to ſtrike all thoſe who perſwade his Majeſty to doe ſuch acts as make the Lawes ſeeme but as cobwebs, which by his Prerogotive may be ſtretched, nay broken.

Some there are which Object, that the Kings Majeſty hath bin pleaſed to paſſe many gracious Acts already, and therefore ſeeing we have ſo many tokens of his good intent, why ſhould he be doubted, or his intent queſtioned?

Truely the Parliament and all the reſt of his Subjects, muſt acknowledge his Fatherly care of them, in thoſe Acts expreſſed: But if he be perſwaded, nay reſolved to breake thoſe Acts againe by violence, what are we the better to ſay we have beene happy in the making thoſe Acts, the breach of which is ten times a greater miſery? if a Father breeds his Sonne well, or allowes him well whileſt hee lives, but when hee dyes, leaves him nothing whereby both hee and his children, and his childrens children may be the better, ſurely the care and piety of a Father is not in him compleat. So Kings, if they make part of an age happy by governing well,

well, or making good Lawes, but at laſt breakes them againe, and does not leave them as Teſtaments, whereby a perpetuity of good may deſcend to their Countrey; they are but mortall and tranſitory benefactours.

I ſpeake not this to incenſe the Subject againſt their lawfull Prince, for I know no warrant for that: for, for his Majeſties pure ſelfe, His ſerious and often proteſtations command my Faith, both for his maintaining our Proteſtant Religion, and defence of his Subjects and their Liberties; and I diſcerne his words actuated, his building or repairing of Temples, his late Proclamations againſt Recuſants, his excluding them his Army that will not take the oath of Supremacy and Alleagiance, are for the firſt: his building of Shippes in theſe late times, and his paſſing the Act for the continuance of this Parliament, are teſtimonies for the ſecond: onely the danger is, if thoſe malignant ſpirits about him, ſhould prevaile with him (which I hope is impoſſible) to adde ill endings to thoſe good Acts, by changing the uſe they were pretended for.

Others there are, that grant the KING hath it by way of truſt, but yet Object, that by Law a truſt cannot be countermanded; and therefore Sir *John Hothams* keeping of *Hull* was againſt Law.

To which I anſwere thus; I confeſſe that by law a truſt cannot be countermanded, but yet I ſhall take a difference between the truſt of a private mans eſtate, and a truſt of a kingdome; and if this difference ſhould not ſtand good, ſee what a miſchiefe would follow; and *argumentum ab inconvenienti* is of great force in law, if that were a good argument, then our caſe in ſhort were but thus:

We have intruſted the King with the whole Kingdome, and this truſt cannot be countermanded by us againe, and if not then the Kings eſtate in the kingdome, is as good as abſolutely his owne in Fee, and if ſo, then he may doe what he will with the Crowne: and if this miſchiefe were remedileſſe, what eſtate or property had any man in his owne fortunes, when they all lay open to ſo great a hazzard.

Again, though for the avoydance of that miſchiefe, it might be thought countermandable; yet that Act of Sir *John Hotham* is not

a countermande but rather a ſtrengthning of it: for by common preſumption, the King being but one cannot prie into the actions and intents of all thoſe that have procured his imployments ſo well as his Parliament may, for *plus vident oculi quam oculus*: and therefore they finding ſuch treacherie and falſeneſſe in them (which the King either does not ſee, or elſe is wilfully impollitick) thought it fit (as it was moſt ſeaſonable indeed) to imploy another whoſe faithfulneſſe might prevent what they intended againſt both King and Kingdome; to which truth ſo ſoone as his Majeſty ſhall give credit, and by that means they and the Kingdome be ſecured, his truſt will appear the ſame it ever was, and he more able to diſcharge that truſt repoſed in him.

Others there are that doe object the authority of Parliament to be much, but this is not binding which this Parliament does now, becauſe the King doth not joyne with them; for tis no compleat Parliament the head of that body being abſent.

But I ſhall prove by preſidents, and reaſon, upon which law is partly grounded, that the Parliament have that power in them which they ſo carefully make uſe of.

I confeſſe my Lord *Cooke* in the firſt part of his Inſtitutes, thus derives the word *Prærogativa*: *a præ id eſt ante* and *rogare*, and ſaith he, it carries with it this ſence, when an Act is paſſed by both houſes of Parliament, before it can be made a Law they muſt *prærogare* the Kings conſent; but this dirivation of the word does, not prove that the King hath an abſolute power of denying to paſſe any Bill that is brought him for the good of the Kingdom: but it ſignifies on his part aſwell, that he cannot of himſelfe enact any thing or lay any tax upon his Subject, but he muſt *prærogare* too, asking the conſent of the Parliament.

Beſides, though what they doe cannot be binding by way of Act without his conſent, yet by way of Ordinance it may; in *term. Micael.* 21. *E.* 3. fol. 60. b. In a caſe touching the exemption of the Abby of Saint *Edmons Berry* from the Biſhop of *Norwich*, there was an Ordinance made by the Parliament without the King, and if you turne to the booke you ſhall finde theſe words in the judgement *fuit ordeigne*, which you may read likewiſe in *Seldens* title of honour: But if I ſhould admit that there were no law to prove their Act legall, yet ſure I am there is good reaſon for it.

As firſt from the words of the writ *noſtro quibuſdam arduis rebus et negotiis*

otiis urgentibus statuen dissentionem regni nostri Angliæ concer-nentibus; which words *rebus arduis et urgentibus negotiis* proves they have power upon urgent occasions to do that which at the time of their doing it, they had no law to enable them thereto; for their calling by writ is authority to enable them to sit in Parliament, and then their consent is law enough to binde us, and therefore if the Parliament doe grant Subsidies by way of Ordinance and the Kings hand is never put to it, yet it is sufficient enough to force a Paiment from us because the Countries are bound by Indentures seald to the Sheriffe at the time of their election to stand to what they shall consent to in Parliament whom they have chosen: but by way of Act it cannot force us, because it cannot be pleaded as an Act but that upon a demurrer it will be overruled.

Now if the Parliament could do nothing but what they had a law to enable them to do, what need the Country seal Indentures to wand to what they doe, when as that law the Parliament went by, would force them to obey it without that waxen ceremony.

Besides if the Parliament had not power to do an Act, to the doing of which there was no law at the time of their summons to enable them; then what need a Parliament be cald at any time, for then any inferiour Court had had as much authority (upon the matter) as that: but I conceave necessity is the law they are to look at, for they need not deferre the doing of that which is for the Kingdomes good, for want of a law or a president to steere by; for if in times past the grave law-makers had not done things according to their profound judgement, and as they saw fit without Presidents, how should any presidents have been left to future ages, and to this present Parliament? but surely they did, and surely this Parliament may, unlesse any one can prove the power of Parliament to be abated, and lesse now then in former times.

I agree if a Parliament should assume to themselves that power, to sway every thing and never aske the Kings consent, it were an abridgement of that prerogative the King hath in him by law; but there are many humble Petitions full of submission and alleagiance to his Majesty that can prove this Parliament not guilty; were they not adjudged Traytors without tryall: But again, if the King forsake them, and deny to passe those Bills they bring him for the good

of

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Now if the Parliament could do nothing but what they had a law to enable them to do, what need the Country ſeal Indentures to wand to what they doe, when as that law the Parliament went by, would force them to obey it without that waxen ceremony.

Beſides if the Parliament had not power to do an Act, to the doing of which there was no law at the time of their ſummons to enable them; then what need a Parliament be cald at any time, for then any inferiour Court had had as much authority (upon the matter) as that: but I conceave neceſſity is the law they are to look at, for they need not deferre the doing of that which is for the Kingdomes good, for want of a law or a preſident to ſteere by; for if in times paſt the grave law-makers had not done things according to their profound judgement, and as they ſaw fit without Preſidents, how ſhould any preſidents have been left to future ages, and to this preſent Parliament? but ſurely they did, and ſurely this Parliament may, unleſſe any one can prove the power of Parliament to be abated, and leſſe now then in former times.

I agree if a Parliament ſhould aſſume to themſelves that power, to ſway every thing and never aske the Kings conſent, it were an abridgement of that prerogative the King hath in him by law; but there are many humble Petitions full of ſubmiſſion and alleagiance to his Majeſty that can prove this Parliament not guilty; were they not adjudged Traytors without tryall: But again, if the King forſake them, and deny to paſſe thoſe Bills they bring him for the good

of

of the Kingdome, I think necessity enables, nay commands them t
doe it without him.

I shall prove it all by one example, the like I hope shall not be
heard of in our dayes; hath no man heard of a king deposed by
Parliament? Surely yes, and what law had they for it that did it be
sides convenience and the common good? and surely they did
without the Kings consent too, or at least he consented whether
would or no, for if he had had an absolute power of denying, an
by that could have frustrated their endeavours, he would never hav
consented to his own deposing; which proves strongly that the
may do that which is for the good of the kingdom without the King
if he refuse to joyne with them.

But this I desire not, and the Parliament intend it not as they hav
declared themselves in severall Declarations and Petitions; and I
hope the most ignorantly violent of the vulgars, and the greates
zealots of any Sect what ever, will wish so much good to our king-
dome, as that it may long be governd by this our gracious King
Charles and his posterity, and that he may soon be free from thos
cruell engagements and inconveniences which the malignant party
hath drawne him into. This is my hearty prayer, onely I used this
great argument to prove a lesser, to argue *a majori ad minus*, for *quod*
majus continet in se minus.

FINIS.

The Lateſt 5

Remarkable Truths

FROM

Worceſter, Cheſter, Salop, Warwick, Stafford, Somerſet, Devon, Yorke, and *Lincoln* Counties.

Moſt of which was ſent up Poſte from judicious men, of purpoſe to be Printed.

Among other things there is a cruell and bloody Speech of the Lord *Paulets*, which he ſpake to his fellow ſouldiers in *Sherbourne* the 7. of *September*, wherein he gives them order to kill men, women, and children, without mercie, but to reſerve ſuch Miniſters as they could take that were well-wiſhers to the Parliament, for to be flead alive, and ſuch like exquiſite torments.

BRITISH MUSEUM

LONDON,
Printed for T. Vnderhill. 1642.

Birmingham Sept. 24. 1642.

PRince *Robert* came Sep. 23 about 9, or 10. of the clock into *Worceſter*, as is thought to fetch away thoſe Forces that lay at Worceſter much endangered by the Lord Generalls forces approaching neere the City: about ten Troops, under the command of Colonel *Browne*, with about two or three hundred Dragooners, drawn from an advantagious plot of ground, where they had pitched ſafely, to prevent (as is thought) the Cavaliers flight, were fiercely aſſaulted at great diſadvantage, with all P. *Roberts* Forces, ſuppoſed to be ſtrong 5000. horſe, they valiantly charged againſt the Cavaliers, had a cruell and bloody fight till it came to ſwords point; Col: *Fines* himſelfe rode up to their chiefe Commander, thruſt his Piſtoll to his belly, diſcharged and ſlew him outright: Lord JOHN is thought to be ſlaine or deſperately wounded, and ſo carried away in a coach, Prince *Robert* is reported to be ſhot through the thigh, but it is not certain, the Parliaments Forces being farre too weake were forced to retreat: The Lo: Generall his Forces being not come in, and ſome of them retreated into Worceſter with the Cavaliers, and being diſcovered in the ſtreetes of that City, they had another bitter skirmiſh in the ſtreetes where divers were ſlaine. The Cavaliers came into the City wofully mangled and bloody, ſome having their eares cut off, ſome with the fleſh of their heads, ſome with their very skulls alſo hanging downe, their Piſtols and Carbines ſtocks being hacked away which they held up for the guard of their heads.

About 10. of the clock at night, all P. *Roberts* forces fled over the bridge towards Ludlow, with many malignants of the City with them, both men, women, and children, and made Captaine *Wingate* (whom they took priſoner) to ride before them in their flight, naked.

This 24. day about 10. of the clock in the morning, his excellence poſſeſſed himſelf of the City, which ere this, had moſt of it been laid in the duſt, had not the Rogues quitted the City, his Excel: being ready for a battery.

The Townſmen certainly affirme that 22. of our ſide are ſlaine, whom they have buried, have found no more for preſent dead, many are ſore wounded, Col: *Sands* and Col: *Brown*, wounded among others. Many of theirs are killed, but I cannot heare of a certaine number.

The Cavaliers ragged regiment dare not ſtand battaile upon any equall termes, they have left divers arms behind them, it is thought all they tooke fro Kiderminſter and Beudley or more, they diſarmed Worceſter before they ran away, but Worceſter fell upon the rear of the Dragooners in the flight, & diſarmed them again.

The

The Cavaliers in Shropſhire and all other places where they come diſarme all Townes and families well affected to the Parliament, plundering their houſes moſt lamentablely, carrying away & ſpoyling all their goods, terrifying the inhabitants extreamely, & driving them to fly for their lives, taking many priſoners, and they have liſts of the names of all active perſons whom they ſeiſe upon, and do moſt miſchiefe unto; Papiſts and Malignants houſes, generally ſcape their cruelty. If a running army be not raiſed to run as faſt as they, the whole Kingdome is in great danger ſuddainly to be run over.

Prince *Roberts* Army moſt part conſiſts of Papiſts, who deale moſt cruelly with all good men and Miniſters, and all that have oppoſed the commiſſion of Array.

Namptwich, Sept. 24.

THe Commiſſioners of Aray in *Cheſhire*, met upon munday laſt at an houſe on the Forreſt of *Delamere*, and as we heare they combined together by an oath of ſecreſie to plunder and diſarme the town of Namptwitch, which they have done by the aſſiſtanc of about 1500. horſe which came from Draiton to meet them, under the command of the Lord *Grandiſon*. The inhabitants of the town having certaine intelligence of what they intended againſt them, preſently aſſembled, in conſultation, to take a courſe for ſecuring of themſelves, and immediatly ſent meſſengers to the Gentry and towns abroad, to ſee what aſſiſtance they would ſend, who formerly had couenanted to aſſiſt the towne (as a place of great conſequence) if neceſſitie required, and one meſſenger going to Sir *Thomas Delues* 3. miles from the town, to acquaint him with the ſtate thereof, and intreating his aid formerly promiſed, he returned anſwer, he could not ſpare one man, for he muſt look to him ſelf, and within two houres after he came by the towne ryding to Cheſter, but left his arms in his own houſe, which the next day after without any reſiſtance were taken away by the Cavaliers, Sir *Richard Wilbraham* was forward for our helpe in ſending vs armes, and his men abroad to bring in the Countrie, which care had he exerciſed in due time, ſtanding againſt the commiſſioners of Aray, when by the reſt of the gentrie he was with all importunitie preſt thereunto, the town and countie had never come to that deplorable condition. M. *Vernon*, a braue Gentelman, and a great patriot of our countrie, was the moſt forward man of all: had he come in half an houre ſooner we had held it out againſt all that aſſailed us. Cap: *Croxon* was the greateſt ſtrength, and very reſolute to defend the town. M. *Clutton*, an actiue Gent: was reſolved to fight it out, and diſarmed the underſherifes man, who came from

the Cavaliers, who would not heare talke of any parlie, but gave expreſſe command to the townesmen of his own company to give fire as ſoon as the Caveliers ſhould come within ſhot, and not to admit of any parlie, but other Gent. of the towne perſwaded the contrarie, leſt it ſhould be fired: where upon they came to parley. The Lord *Grandiſon*, and the Lord *Cholmondeley* engaged their honors, that noe man ſhould be hurt, nor any armes or goods taken from any man, but onely deſired that the armes might be laid up in the church or the town hall till they heard further from the King: whereupon the towne was given up, but they diſhonourably broake their engagement, ſeizing upon their armes ſo ſoone as they entred the town, ſearching up and down for armes, and men, threatning many, and purſueing them that fled, many tooke the river to eſcape them, they ſtopt the paſſages of the town, to be revenged of them within it, rid up and down the gardens to finde them out and impriſoned many, then they plundred the towne, and all the countrie, which now lyes open for a prey to a perfidious enemy, conducted and ſtrengthned by them of the Aray to all ſuch places, where they have bin moſt ſerviceable to King and Parliament, if ſpeedie help come not, we ſhall be vtterly defolate. This intelligence is from many eye-witneſſes.

That malignant partie is further ſtrengthened by theſe forces, of which this is a true liſt.

THe *Earle* Rivers *hath five peeces of Ordnance*, 10. *barrels of powder*, *and* 60. *bullets landed at Frodſham Sep* 17. *The Lord* Strange *Sep.* 19. *brought* 2000. *men, and* 2. *Troops of Horſe to Warrington, and are there billited for* 8. *dayes, and hath* 11. *peeces of Ordnance, beſides tis reported he expects* 3000. *men out of* Cumberland, Weſtmerland, *and* Northumberland.

Taunton in Somerſetſhire, Sept. 18.

THe beginning of this weeke the E. of Bath was in Devonſhire about the Commiſſion of Array; the firſt Town wee came to (the name whereof I have forgot) he (not daring to go in) ſent a brave Cavalier to the Towne to finde how it ſtood, where the women ſo paid him for his paines, that he ſcarce returned with any skin on his face. The ſecond Town he went to was Moulton, where he ſent ſtore of venizon, pretending his comming was to feaſt and make merry, but his intentions being diſcovered, the women beſet his houſe and forced him with much adoe to make an eſcape and leave his roſt. On munday laſt the Marqueſſe and Cavaliers left Sherbourne and are gone to Minyard a ſea Town neere Wales, and the next paſſage from thence to Ireland, they troubled all the Countreyes in their paſſages, in ſo much that on tueſday night all the ſhop-

windowes

windowes here were ſhut, every man Armd and the Towne guarded.

Taunton, Sept. 25.

Yeſterday the E. of Bedford came with about 500. horſe, ſome troopes went towards Minyard the laſt night at 12. of the clock, the reſt goe to day with divers Dragooners and Foot from other parts, and here are preparations for war, all this countrey over, as if it were to be the ſeat of war. I could not conveniently write unto you ſooner, having been very buſie in all the late ſervice about Sherbourne, in which God hath graciouſly preſerved me, though I was imployed in the Front of our Army, when we gave them the firſt onſet. I have here ſent you the Lord *Paulets* unparallel'd bloody ſpeech to his ſouldiers, which you may publiſh if you pleaſe. Thus praying God to bleſſe you, and be a wall of fire about you, and that good great City, the Magazine of our Kingdom, I reſt, *Your truly loving friend.*

Poſtſcript. It is now reported by meſſengers from Minyard, that the great ones are eſcaped in a flat boat, and left all the common ſouldiers and ammunition behind them.

The Lord Paulets *Speech to his Souldiers at Sherbourne, on Wedneſday before the fight, being the ſeventh of Septemb.* 1642.

FEllow ſouldiers, our Spies are returned with news ſo good as that I can ſcarce find in my heart to wiſh for better, our adverſaries being ſo naked in a defencable condition as that I do as certainly aſſure my ſelfe of victory, as if an Angel from heaven had fortold it. The Earle droops and is exceeding melancholly for theſe undeſerved Ielouſies, & rumours, with which my ſubtile inſtruments have filled the heads of his ſouldiers. Their Collonels and Captains that looked ſo high at their ſetting out againſt us, are now creſt-falne; their ſouldiers are moſt ſtolne home, and thoſe which yet ſtay behind, are poſſeſſed rather with a double ſtupidity then ſecurity, looking ſo ſleepily, as if they could be content to have their throats cut. To avoid any farther trouble, they are not like to be put to a ſecond beleaguring of us. Their numbers are few, and thoſe too decreaſing every day and houre by hundreds, that if we make not the more haſte, we ſhall not have a conſiderable company on whom to exerciſe our revenge. Their ſpirits and courage are quite loſt and broken, in ſo much that I am afraid we ſhall hardly meet with much ſhew of reſiſtance, to make our attempts ſeeme valiant. I may very well ſpare all arguments of encouragement, when I compare your valorous reſolution with their weakneſſe and cowardice: onely I ſhall intreat you to obſerve theſe following dire-

directions in and after the victory: Give quarter to none that weares the ſword, no not to the Earle himſelfe; deafen your eares, and harden your hearts againſt all cryes and prayers for mercie: But if you meet with any of their Clergie, reſerve them for more exquiſite torments, and a lingring death; I intend to have them flead alive. But if any of you can finde a more tormenting and weightier puniſhment, I ſhall give place unto it. Be favourable to the towne and townſmen of *Teavel*, for they are moſt of them our well-wiſhers. As for the Round-heads that are among them, they ſhall be to morrow ſingled out for the ſlaughter. But when you come to the Puritanicall Townes, *Taunton*, *Chard*, *Crukeborne*, *Briſtoll*, *Dorcheſter*, and *Exon*; then let your ſwords cruell it without difference of age, ſex or degree. Some muſt fall to make up the number, as ſome the prey. Let thoſe three Counties of *Somerſet*, *Dorſet*, and *Devon*, be fatted with the bloud and dunged with the carkaſes of the inhabitants, that they may not make head againſt us. I am even raviſhed with delight, when I conſider the renowned glory, great plenty, rare pleaſure, rich and brave booties that court you. There is not the meaneſt ſouldier among you, but ſhall have more wealth then he can tame or overcome; more choice and delicate booties then the great Turke hath in his *Seraglios*. Theſe things will invite you beyond any eloquence of mine. Therefore deare hearts comfort your hearts with this, that you are able to looke them dead.

Coventry in Warwick-ſhire, Sept. 17.

HIs Majeſty advancing into Staffordſhire, ſent two or three troops of horſe, came to Killingworth Caſtle to conduct thoſe ſouldiers that were there, (under the command of Serjant major *Willis*) unto His Majeſties other Forces: Our Coventry Soldiers having notice hereof made haſte to give them an onſet, but the rogues were got paſt Coleſil ere they could reach them, and then ſuch as could go faſteſt on horſeback, which were not above 30. rid amain, overwent their foot, and adventured ſtoutly, ile not ſay deſperately, to aſſault the other army. Serjeant Major *Willis*, ſeeing the force ſo ſmall that came to encounter them, gave order that the Carriages and foote ſheuld march forward, and they with their horſe (though well wearied) would give battaile to Coventry horſe, as indeede they did to our griefe, for beſides the priſoners they took, which were three or four, and men they wounded which were two, (one whereof lies at Curdworth, yet I thinke alive,) our men were forced to retreat, which made the adverſe party inſult notably, and unleſſe men did by miraculous faith beleeve that God would deſtroy their adverſaries with Rams hornes, I know not what ſhould

ſhould put ſuch boldneſſe into them. They got two or three horſes from their adverſaries, ſome ſay alſo a priſoner or two, but the major body of the Killingworth Army with their Carriage which was in foure wagons came ſafe to Tamworth, and after one dayes reſt went from thence, in one of which Cap: *Scudamore* lay, (ſuch ſtate his friends put upon him) he was wounded at Coventry ſiege, and is very like to periſh therewith.

Walſall in Staffordſhire, Sept. 24.

MAſter *Comberford* of Tamworth ſent three or foure cart loads of goods and Ammunition, with many cattle lately towards Dudly Caſtle for ſafety, but Birmingham men having notice hereof ſeiſed upon them: This *Comberford* is a great malignant, this and other things makes Birmingham extreamely threatned. Some Cavaliers were lately apprehended here at Walſall for indeavouring to levie ſouldiers, for which dreadfull menaces are denounced againſt us alſo. The Rebels have taken and plundered Namptwich, Sir *Wil: Brerton*, that worthy patriot of his Country, his houſe is pillaged and ſeven or eight horſes taken from him. So is the Lady *Bromleyes* reverend Parſon *Fiſhers*, Mr. *Charlton* an excellent Gent: Mr. *Rawley* of Rawley by P. *Robert*, and divers others, which makes good people fly apace.

Kendall in Weſtmerland.

THe Commiſſioners of Array are ready here to put their Commiſſion in execution, but dare not for fear of the Country, for our Country ſtands cloſe to their Petition and Proteſtation.

Lancaſhire, Sept. 23.

THere came under command of Cap: *Legs* brother 3000. Muſquetiers of horſeback, and much powder and ſhot from New-Caſtle through this County to go to Cheſter, which the Countrey was not able to make ſtay of, having no forces. The Lord *Strange* hath drawne his Forces to Waringdon, being about 2500. and intends to go and pillage Mancheſter, he hath compelled his tenants to pay 3. yeares rent beforehand, for to ſupport the King in this ſervice, inſomuch that poore men are forced to ſell their Cattaile and goods to pay it. Mancheſter keepes a ſtrong watch night and day, ſome places being plundered neere them by Sir *Francis Wortley*, and other Cavaliers as *Knutsford*, *Oldham*, &c. The Lo: *Strange* drawes along with him the traine bands, but ſore againſt their wills.

Cheſter, Sept. 24.

THe King having left his Army, bilited about Shrewsbury, came to Whitechurch upon Friday, and was welcommed into the County of Cheſter, by the Lo: *Rivers*, L. *Chamley*, and Sir *Thomas Aſton*, and then went,

went towards Chester with two Troops, being his guard, besides Sir *Thos Astons* Troop, and the Mayor, Aldermen, and Recorder *Brerewood*, received him into Chester in great pomp, presenting him ith 200.l. and the Prince with 100.l. The Court is kept at the Bishops house. The next Tuesday His Majesty intends to depart from this City towards Rixam, thence to Elsmore, and so back to Shrewsbury. He hath imprisoned some of our Noble Gent: for obeying the Parliament. Before the King came out of Shropshire, he sent downe the River Severne 6. peeces of Ordnance to Bridgenorth to secure that place, but it is hoped that the Lord Generall will in good time take that place, and those Peeces, and *Shrewsbury* to boot.

Yorkeshire, Sept. 24. by a speciall Poste.

THe honest part of our Gentry and Commonalty now begin to pluck up their spirits, make head against the Parliaments Forces, have received many men and Armes from Sir *Iohn Hotham*, whose son commands them: They have chose the Lord *Faireſax* their chiefe Commander, and their Army daily increaseth: They have taken some very strong holds already for the service of the Parliament, and resolve to seize upon all the Parliaments enemies in all the Countie, whereupon Sir *William Savile* and many other malignants are fled to *Pomfret* Castle for refuge.

In Lincolneshire also the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, the Earle of Lincolne, and many others, make head, joyne their Troops together, and intend to joyne with *Yorkeshire*, whereby it is hoped through Gods great goodnes all the North part of England will be shortly secured for the King and Parliament.

FINIS.



p.p. London Special Passages 6

A Continuation of true and speciall PASSAGES,

From severall places of this Kingdome,

As also from Scotland, and Ireland, worth observation.

From the 22. of September to the 29. 1642.

BRITISH MUSEUM

1. *Letters from Oxford, Wickam and other parts of that County.*
2. *Letters from Shrewsbury of his Majesties going to Chester, and the true number of his Majesties Army.*
3. *Letters from the Lord Generall from Northampton, intimating his Lordships intention to goe to Coventry.*
4. *A Petition delivered by Captaine* Phippes *from Coventry.*
5. *Letters from Worcester of the Lord* Sey, *Colonell* Fines, *Captaine* Browne, *Captaine* Seaton, *and Captain* Thackhouse, *their comming thither, and Captain* Browne *his skirmish with the Cavaliers.*
6. *Letters from the Earle of Essex, intimating his intention to march to* Worcester, *being informed his Majesty intends to be there.*
7. *Intelligence from* Sherborne *Castle, of the brave service performed by Captaine* Cooper.
8. *An ordinance of both houses of Parliament, for all Souldiers to depart London after his Excellency the Lord Generall.*
9. *Certain votes of the House of Commons concerning the Earle of* Carlile *and Mr.* Russel, *brother to the Earle of* Bedford.
10. *A conference between both Houses concerning the said votes.*
11. *Letters from Scotland.*
12. *Intelligence from the Earle of* Warwick, *of the taking of Captaine* Kettleby *and Captain* Stradler.
13. *Letters of intelligence from Ireland, delivered into the House of Commons by Captain* Ashley.
14. *Intelligence from* Worcester *of the Cavaliers leaving the Towne.*
15. *From* Chester *of his Majesties comming thither, and from thence returning to* Shrewsbury.
16. *From* Minehead, *of the keeping out of Marquesse* Hartford.
17. *Of the apprehension of Sir* John Biron *and* Sir William Russel.
18. *How the* Welshmen *surprized* Hereford.

Sept. 29 *Printed at London for* William Cook. 1642.

[illegible]

A Continuation of true and ſpeciall Paſſages,

worth obſervation, from ſeverall places of this Kingdome, from the 22. of September to the 29. 1642.

From Oxford, September 21.

THis day came Letters from the Lord *Sey* at Oxford, intimating his Lordſhip hath placed a Garriſon in the Towne, and iſſued out Warrants for an apparance of the Traine Bands of that Countie on Friday following, with intent to put the Militia in execution: and alſo hath taken order for putting a Garriſon in Wickham; and then his Lordſhip, with his Regiment, intends to march to Worceſter, to quiet that Countie.

Shrewsbury.

That his Maieſtie is gone from thence to Cheſter, leaving moſt of his Army behind, taking with him not above 1000. foot, and 500. horſe: That ſince his Maieſties being at Cheſter many of that Countie, and out of Wales, are come to proffer their ſervice to his Maieſtie; ſo that it is conceived his Maieſties Army will increaſe, and the maligpant party prove ſomewhat difficult to ſuppreſſe; but hoped, many that now proffer their ſervice, when they ſhall come to fight, will either runne away, or turne on the Parliaments ſide.

Northampton.

Northampton.

That his Excellencie, the Lord Generall, is marching from Northampton towards Coventry, and there intends to reside, till further Order from the Parliament, whither from thence his Excellencie shall advance his Forces, either for Worcester, or other-where.

Coventry, September 22.

One Captaine *Phipps* brought a Petition from that Towne to the House of Commons, desiring some assistance of Horse, and some peeces of Ordinance, for the better securitie of that Towne: That Colonel *Hampden* may be sent thither, or some other assistance from the Lo: Generall; that Town being more aimed at by the malignant party then any other in the Countrey: which Petition was referred to consideration of a Committee, to make report thereof to the House next morning.

Worcester.

This day came intelligence from Worcester, that the Lord *Sey*, Colonel *Fines*, Colonel *Sands*, Captain *Browne*, Captain *Seaton*, and other Commanders under him, came before Worcester; where was beleagred by the Trained Bands and inhabitants of the Countie, the Lo: *Coventry*, Sir *William Russel*, Sir *John Biron*, and about 600. Cavaliers: and at their comming, Captain *Browne* made an assault against the Town; whereupon the Cavaliers issuing out, slew about foure or five of his men, and retyred againe into the Towne, not daring to adventure a skarmish with him: it is hoped the Towne will soon be wonne out of their possession.

This day came Letters from the Lord Generall, to severall Lords of the House of Peeres directed; as one to the Earle of *Holland*, another to the Lord *Mandevile*: the first intimating that his Excellencie is informed, that his Majestie intends, in his owne person, to rayse the siege at Worcester; and therefore his

his Excellencie intends to march thither with his Army, to continue the siege, and suppresse the Malignants, that disturbe the peace of that Town and Country.

Sherborne, September 2.

That Captaine *Cooper* hath done good service against the Castle, in service of the Parliament, under the Earle of Bedford: That Marquisse *Hartford* is escaped out of the Castle with about three or foure hundred of his souldiers, and gone towards the Sea Coast in Devonshire, privately, intending to take shipping for Ireland, if he be not prevented: That in every Countie that way Warrants are issued out, and strict Watch in every place for his apprehension.

Westminster.

This day an Ordinance of both Houses was agreed upon, injoyning that all Captaines, with their Officers and Souldiers, should forthwith depart the Citie and other places, upon notice of the said Ordinance, and repaire to his Excellencie; and such as shall faile, either Officers or Souldiers, to be cashiered, and their Names returned to the Parliament, to be proceeded against as Delinquents.

This day also the House of Commons fell into debate of the Earle of Carlile, and M. *Rusel*, Brother to the Earle of Bedford: and after great debate thereupon, M. *Rusel* was called to the Barre, and upon his submission, & proffer to lend Horse, Money, and Plate, for the use of King and Parliament, he was admitted, by a generall Vote of the House, to his place againe. Then a Message was sent to the Lords, desiring a Conference; at which, their Votes concerning the said M: *Rusel* was read, and a Motion made to the Lords, that the said Earle of Carlile might be forthwith called, to answer such things as should be objected against him; which the Lords promised should be done accordingly.

Scotland, September 24.

This day came letters from Scotland, intimating that a great Councell of the Lords and Grandees of that Kingdome, are to treat of an accommodation between the King & his Parliament, if it may be: their resolution therein they will in short time send to both Houses of Parliament.

This day came letters from the Earle of Warwicke, intimating, that the two English Pirats, Captaine *Stradler* and Captaine *Kettleby*, are taken: their Ships and Ammunition his Lordship keepeth for service, and hath sent the said Captains towards London.

Ireland, September 26.

This day came Capt: *Ashley*, lately come from *Ireland*, with letters from *Munster*, declaring that the English and Scotch have atchieved a great victory against the rebels, the manner and cause of their battel being as followeth. The rebels having brought all their severall Companies and Regiments into one intire body, in that part of the Kingdom, under the command of the L: *Musgrove*, consisting of 17000. Horse and Foot, with resolution to make themselves masters of the whole province of *Munster*, encamped against *Lemrick*, and wonne the same after some 6. or 7. houres skirmish; and from thence marched with their Army towards a place called *Mourn Abby*, between *Tallow* and *Cork*, where met them the L. *Dungarvan*, soone to the Earle of *Cork*, and about 1700. English and Scotch under his command; where, between both Armies, although that great odds, was fought a sharp & cruel battell. At length the rebels began to flye, about 700. of them being slaine, the rest all fled, leaving behinde them two great peeces of Ordnance, many Muskets, and so many Pikes, that the English knew not what to doe with them, but burned a great many of them in the field. And also they tooke

from

from them much provision of Victuall, thirtie or fortie Venison Pasties, with which they intended to make a great Feast, after the overthrow of the Protestants. In this Conflict none were taken prisoners, but all put to the sword: Which newes much reioyced the House of Commons; who presently sent a Message to the Lords for a Conference, at which the said Letters were read; and the said Captaine present, affirming the same to be truth.

Worcester.

That the Cavaliers are departed the Towne; but before they could escape, about fiftie of them by the Parliaments Forces were slaine: That his Excellencie, the Lord Generall, being informed thereof, as his Lordship was in his March thither, his Excellencie returned back againe to Northampton, where his Lordship intends to compleat his Armie, expecting the residue of the Captaines and Souldiers that are to come from London.

Chester.

That his Maiestie on Fryday last, being the 23. of September, came to that Towne, and stayed there onely that night, and the next day returned to Shrewsbury; but how long his Maiestie intends to stay there, is uncertaine.

Minehead.

That the Marquesse *Hartford* came before that Towne, being a Sea Towne, convenient to ship for Ireland, with about three hundred Cavaliers, but were kept out by the inhabitants, and stoutly resisted, so that his intention for Ireland is by that meanes prevented; and it is conceived, the Marquesse will privately by himselfe repaire againe to Sherborne Castle, where is yet about six or seven hundred, that keepes the same against the Forces of the Parliament.

From

From Cheshire.

That Sir *William Russel*, Sir *John Biron*, and some other lately fled from *Worcester*, were pursued into that County, and some seven miles from *Chester*, in a skirmish between Colonell *Fines* and Captaine *Browne*, Sir *John Birons* Company consisting of about three Troopes of Horse, and two Foot, and Colonell *Fines* two Troopes of Horse, and three Companies of Foot, the saide Captaine *Biron*, and Sir *William Russel* were taken Prisoners, and about twenty of their men slaine, and the rest fled: which two Cavaliers are now coming up to the Parliament, with a strong guard attending them; expecting them the next morning in London.

Hereford.

That his Maiesty is daily expected there: that some *Welsh men*, to the number of two thousand, are entred that Towne, pretending they have warrant from his Maiesty to possesse the same for his use. But after a dayes abode there, they used themselves so inhumanly towards the Townesmen, and attempting to disarme them: But they perceiving their intention, stood upon their guard, and have expelled many of them out of the towne, and sent into the Country adiacent for assistance of the trained Bands, hoping in short time to expell them quite out of that County.

FINIS.

Stanford University Libraries

7

THE Earle of ESSEX HIS LETTER to the *Earle* of SOVTHAMPTON *in the time of his Troubles.*

Containing many Pious Expresſions, and very comfortable for ſuch as are in any *Troubles*: *Septemb.* 29. 1642.

Thr. 29. LONDON,
Printed by LVKE NORTON, for T. T.

THE

Duke of ESSEX

TO

LETTER

TO

SOUTHAMPTON

BRITISH MUSEUM

LONDON,

Printed for Lyne Norton, for J. T.

The Earle of ESSEX his Letter to the Earle of *Southampton*, in the time of *his Troubles*.

My Lord:

AS neither Nature nor Custome never made mee a man of Complements. So now I shall have lesse will, than heretofore, to use such ceremonies; When I have left with *Martha* to be, *Solicitus circa multa*, and beleeve with *Mary*, *unum sufficit*, but it is no complement or ceremony, but a reall and necessary duty, that one friend oweth to another in absence, and especially at their leave taking, when in mans reason many accidents may either keepe them long divided, or perhaps barre their meeting till they meet in another world: For then shall I think that my friend, whose honour, whose person, and whose fortune, is deare unto mee shall prosper and be happy where ever he goe, and what ever hee takes in hand, when he is in the favour of that God, under whose protection there is only safety, and in whose service there is only true happinesse to be found. What I think of your naturall gifts, or of your abilities in this age, and in this state to give glory to God, and to winne honour to your self, if

you imploy the talents you have received, to their beſt uſe; I will not now tell you, it ſufficeth that when I was furtheſt of all times from diſſembling, I ſpake truly, and have witneſſe enough. But thoſe things I will only put your Lordſhip in mind of. Firſt, that you have nothing that you have not received. Secondly, That you poſſeſſe them not as a Lord over them, but as an accomptant for them. Thirdly, If you imploy them to ſerve this world, or your owne worldly delights, which the Prince of this world will ſeek to entertain you with; it is ingratitude, it is injuſtice, yea, it is perfidious treachery. For what would you think that ſuch a ſervant of yours, that ſhall convert your goods, committed to his charge, to the advantage or ſervice of your greateſt Enemie: And what do you leſſe than thus with God, ſince you have all from him, and know that the world and the Prince thereof are at continuall enmity with him. If ever therefore the admonition of your trueſt friend be heard by you, or your Country (which you may ſerve in ſo great and many reſpects) be deare unto you: If your God (whom you muſt, if you deale truly with your ſelfe, acknowledge to be powerfull over all, and juſt in all) be feared by you; yea, if you be deare unto your ſelfe, and prefer an everlaſting happineſſe before a pleaſant dreame, which you muſt ſhortly awake out of, and then repent in the bitterneſſe of your ſoule, any of theſe things be regarded by you; then, I ſay, call your ſelfe to an accompt

for what is paſt, Cancell all the leagues which you made without the warrant of a religious conſcience, make a reſolute Covenant with your God to ſerve him with all your naturall and ſpirituall inward and outward gifts and abilities, and then he that is faithfull and cannot lie, hath promiſed to honour them that honour him, he will give you that inward peace of ſoule, and true joy of heart, which til you have you ſhal never reſt, which when you have you ſhall never be ſhaken, and which you can never attaine to by any other way then this that I have ſhewed you; I know your Lordſhip that when you reade this, you may ſay to your ſelfe, and object to me, this is but a vapour of Mellanchollie, and a ſtile of a priſoner; and that I was farre enough from it when I lived in the world (as you do now; and may doe ſo againe when my fetters are taken from me. I anſwer, Though your Lordſhip ſhould thinke ſo, yet cannot I diſtruſt the goodneſſe of my God, that his mercie will fail me, or his grace forſake me; I have ſo deepely ingaged my ſelf that I ſhould be one of the moſt miſerable *Apoſtates* that ever was: I have ſo avowed my profeſſion, and called ſo many from time to time to witneſſe it, and to be watchmen over me, that I ſhould be the holloweſt *Hypocrite* that ever lived, and the moſt deteſtable *Atheiſt* that ever was borne. But though I ſhould periſh in my owne ſinne, and drawe upon my ſelfe my owne condemnation; ſhould not you take holde of the Grace and Mercy of God which is offered

and make your profit of my fearefull, wretched and miserable example. I was longer a slave and servant to the world, and the corruption of it, than you have been, and therefore could hardly be drawn from it; I had many callings, and answered some of them: thinking a soft pace fast enough to come to Christ: and my selfe forward enough, when I saw the end of my journey, though I arrived not at it. Therefore I have beene by Gods providence violently pulled, halled, and dragged to the Marriage feast, as all the world hath seene. It was just with God to afflict me in this world, that he might give me joy in another: I had too much knowledge, while I performed too little obedience, and was therefore to be beaten with double stripes; God grant your Lordship may quietly feele the comforts I now injoy in my unfained conversion, but that you never feele the torments I have suffered for the too long delaying it; I had none but Divines to call upon me: To whom I said, If my ambition could have entred into their narrow hearts, they would not have bin so humble, or if my delights had bin once tasted by them, they would not have bin so precise; But your Lordship hath one to call upon you that knowes what it is you now enjoy, and what the greatest fruit and end is of all contentments that this world can afford. I thinke therefore (Deare Earle) that I have staked and bounded all the wayes of pleasure to you, and left them as sea-markes for you to keep the channell of religious

ventures; for ſhut your eyes never ſo long, they muſt be opened at laſt, and then you muſt ſay with me, *There is no peace to the wicked and ungodly, I will make a covenant with my ſoule:* not ſuffer mine eyes to ſleep in the night, nor my thoughts to attend the firſt buſineſſe of the day, till I have prayed to my God that your Lordſhip may beleeve, and may profit by this plain, but faithfull admonition. And then I know your Country and friend ſhal be happie in you, and you ſucceſſefull in all you take in hand: which ſhall be an unſpeakable comfort to your Lordſhips

Couſin and true Friend, which no worldly cauſe can divide from you,

ESSEX.

FINIS.

BRITISH MUSEUM

ESSEX.

FINIS.

Exceeding true and joyfull 8

NEWES

FROM

WORCESTER:

Wherin is Declared two glorious Battels performed by the Parliaments Forces against the Kings Army, Septemb. 24. and 26. K. England Army

The first by the Earl of *Essex* with ten Troops of Horse, against Prince *Robert*, and Commissary *Wilmot*, with 14 Troops, within half a mile of *Worcester*, who after 4 or 5 hours fight, slew Commissary *Wilmot*, wounded Prince *Robert* in the head, and killed about 30. Common souldiers.

Of the Earl of Essex side were slain Serjeant Major Douglas, and about 20 Common souldiers. This battell was fought upon Monday last, and with much difficulty his Excellency obtained the victory, and hath beaten all the Cavaleers out of *Worcester*. The second battle was fought the L. *Say*, against Sir *John Byron* neer *Shrewsburie*, *Sep.* 24. 1642.

Septemb, 29. Printed for *James Blake*, to prevent all false Copies from those Parts, by order.

NEWES

FROM

WORCESTER:

Wherein is Declared two glorious Battels performed by the Parliaments Forces against the King's Army, September 24. and 26.

The first by the Earl of Essex with ten Troops of Horse, against Prince Rupert, and Commissary Wilmot, with 14 Troops, within half a mile of Worcester, where after 4 or 5 hours fight, the Commissary Wilmot, wounded Prince Robert in the head, and killed about 50. Common Souldiers.

Of the Earl of Essex side were slain Serjeant Major Young and about 20 Common Souldiers. This battell was fought upon Monday last, and with much difficulty his Excellency obtained the victory, and hath beaten all the Cavaleirs out of Worcester. The second battle was fought the 25. against Sir John Byron near Shrewsbury, Sept. 24. 1642.

September 29. Printed for James Black, to prevent all false Copies from being by under.

Exceeding Joyfull

NEWES FROM WORCESTER.

Brought from thence by the last Post, September the 27. 1642.

ON Sonday last, Mr. *FINES* drew up his Forces, and began to give an Assault upon that Gate of the City, which is called *Sudbury*, and did very good execution, having almost gotten entrance into the City, but this most happy attempt was prevented most unfortunately; For before the Gates were absolutely made open to his Forces, Sir *IOHN BYRON* drew up a strong force of horse, and immediatly issued forth, and gave them a fierce and violent encounter, which Master

FINES, wisely weighing their power and strength, not to be so strong and able as he did wish, and considering how many worthy lives, and what valiant blood might be spilt in this quarrell, would not hazard his men upon the least disadvantage, he judiciously weighing all things, he withdrew his Forces some 4 miles from the City to a place called Knowl-hill, expecting some more Forces dayly to arrive there, by whose aid and assistance he might finish what he had before begun.

And upon Satterday last, the L. Sey and Captain Brown came to *WORCESTER* with their Forces placing them in the most advantagious places for their purpose.

And for the prevention of the enemies flight over the *Bridge* into *Wales*, they placed a strong Garrison at St *Iones*, almost a mile from the City, by this meanes prohibiting and staying them from having ano aid and assistance from the Welch. And some other Forces they placed in *Perry-wood* about two miles from the City, and having thus surrounded the City, they made a Battery against the walls planting their Ordnance at St. *Iones*, and many happy shots were made against the town, the Cavaleers answering them againe with as much strength as they could.

But all in vain, for the L. Sey and Captain Brown received no losse or harme, but it is thought that there was much harm done in the City.

This fight continued for the space of seven hours many of the Cavaleers being slaine therein, and some of the chiefest Ring-Leaders in this lewd and wicked

wicked practise against the King, Church and State were wounded, among whom Sir *Sterington Talbot* a great complotter in this businesse, received the first hurt, being shot in the shoulder.

Master Colbin is likewise dangerously wounded, many more were killed, but the full and perfect Number of them is not as yet known, they concelling their losses, because they would not discourage the rest of their Confederates.

But thus much is certain, the Lord Sey, and Captain Brown have had so happy successe in this their undertakings, that it is generally reported, that they must very speedily surrender up the City, they having received so great a losse by this present Encounter.

Here followes the true and exact Description of a great Battle fought by his Excellencie the Earl of Essex, *against Prince* Robert *his Forces, who sallyed out of the town with ten troops of horse, and met him.*

The

The second Battle fought by his Excellency, *ROBERT* Earle of *Essex*, against Prince *Robert*, neere the City of *Worcester*, Septem. 26. MDCXLII.

PRince *Robert* having information, that the Earl of *Essex* was within 3. miles of the City, he immediatly drew out ten troops of Horse, and marched towards Bouchers *Meadow*, about half a mile distant from *Worcester*, and commanded Sir *John Byron* to march with 2000. foot and 700. Horse towards *Upton*, to assault the Earl of *Essex* on the Reer.

Our Artillery was behind, about 9. miles from *Worcester*, and most of the foot forces, which was a great encouragement to the Cavaleers, and made them very forward to meet his Excellency.

But soon was their hopes frustrated; for when the Earl of *Essex* saw that Prince

Robert

Robert had set his men in Battalia, and were resolved to have a pitch'd Battle, he commanded Sergeant Major *Douglas*, a most Noble and expert Souldier, to draw out 200. Horse, and to charge the enemy, which he did with such an undaunted spirit, and so effectually, that 14. of them quickly fell.

Then Col. *Sandys*, Capt. *Wingate*, and Cap. *Hales* adventured to march up to relieve Serjeant Major *Douglas*, and gave a second Charge to Prince *Robert*, which did very good execution, and as it is credibly reported, Prince *Robert* received a sore wound on the Head.

And after 4. or 5. hours fight, much harm being done on both sides, Captain *Austin* marched up from the Reer, with his troop and gave a most desperate Charge, which the enemy perceiving, and being sensible of, they retreated into the City of *Worcester*, and Captain *Austin* followed them into the City, and did execution on them there, but they stayed not so much as to alight, but marched away, and his Troope being

being single, none then came to assist him, could not pursue, so he kept the Gates of the City, to make entrance for our men, and so by this means we obtained the City, and good store of Armes belonging to the Cavaleers, and have taken about 30. Prisoners.

Sergeant Major *Douglas* was slain on our side, with 20. more, and about 30. of the Enemy.

The Lord Generall is now in this City, and doth intend to march towards the Kings Army at *Shrewsbury*.

FINIS.



A TRUE RELATION

OF

A famous victory obtained against Prince ROBERT, and twelve Troupes of the Cavaliers at the City of *Worcester*, on Saturday the 24. of *September* by his Excellency the Earl of *Essex*: in which Prince *Robert* is very dangerously wounded, Commissary *Wilmot* run through with a sword, Captaine *Sandys* hurt, Serjeant-Major *Douglas* slain, and many others on both sides, thirty of the Cavaliers being taken Prisoners.

ALSO

The manner of his Excellencies coming into Worcester, *and the* Maiors *begging of pardon twice upon his knees for betraying the City.*

Printed for Tho. Cooke. *Septemb.* 29. 1642.

RELATION

OF

A famous victory obtained against Prince ROBERT, and twelve Troops of the Cavaliers at the City of Worcester, on Sunday the 24. of September by his Excellency the Lord of Essex: in which Prince Robert is very dangerously wounded, Colonel Sandys slain, and many more wounded, Commander Burrel, Captain Dawes, and many others of quality of the Cavaliers being taken Prisoners.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

ALSO

The manner of his Excellency coming into Worcester, and the Maior resigning the Charter up into his hands for having the City.

Printed for Tho. Coxe. September 29. 1642.

A TRUE RELATION

of the famous victory lately obtained against Prince *Robert* and twelve Troupes of Cavaliers at *Worcester*, on Saturday the 24. of *September*, by his Excellency the *Earle of Essex*.

ON Saturday the 24. of September Prince ROBERT having with him eleven troupes of horse, joyned himselfe to Sir John Byron, and being all within the city, there being about ten troupes of the Parliaments Forces neer the town, though not in a body: many of them were sent by the Lord Generall before the main Army: Prince ROBERT sallied out of the city, and put his horse in a Batalia in a large meadow called Pitchcroft, adjoyning to the city, and there seemed to challenge an encounter: Colonell Sandys with his Regiment of horse, Captaine Wingate, and

and Captaine Hales were about halfe a quarter of a mile off, and had no passage to the enemy but in a lane where they could not march five a breſt: yet ſo valiant Colonell Sandys was, that he adventured to march up, and charged upon the Prince ſo fiercely, that eleven of them were ſlaine, the Prince being ſore wounded. Then Commiſſary Wilmot comes and relieves Prince ROBERT, and Colonel Sandys receiving a ſore wound but not mortall, and ran his ſword up to the hilt in Commiſſary Wilmots body. Then Captaine Wingates troupe came on and did good ſervice: after him Captaine Fines, and Captain Hale, then came up Captain Auſtines troupe, who could not all this while get out of the lane, and gave a moſt deſperate charge, which the enemy being ſenſible of, & ſeeing more troupes coming, retreated into the city of Worceſter, and captaine Auſtine followed them into the city, and did execution on them there, but they ſtayed not ſo much as to light, but marched away,

and his troup being single, none of them came to assist him, and therefore could not pursue, but kept the gates of the city to give entrance for our men, and so wee obtained the city, & good store of armes belonging to the cavaliers, and about thirty were taken prisoners: Serjeant Major Douglas, a most brave man, was slaine on our side, wee lost no man of note else, onely captaine Wingate and captaine Fines are missing, but we have viewed the dead bodies of all that were slaine on both sides, and can finde neither of them there. The number is equall for losse on each side, about 60. being slain in all. My Lord Generall is now come to the city of Worcester: the Maior hath been twice on his knees for his pardon for betraying the city into the hands of the cavaliers, but cannot obteine it. Prince Rupert and the cavaliers are (as wee conceive) either fled to Ludlow or to Bridgnorth, whither we shall shortly march after them, such is the courage & valiant resolution

of

of our Army, that they desire to have another encounter with them speedily, especially those Souldiers which came from London, who seeme to bee most sensible of the cause they have in hand, and are of undaunted spirits.

The Glocestershire men deserve great commendations in this businesse, for Sir Robert Cooke and other gentlemen of that county came with two thousand of the trained Bands to aid the L. Generall.

Three Arguments to prove this warre cannot last long.

1. The Parliaments loyalty and tender affection to the King, in that all their counsels tend to the safety of His Majesties Person, and the peace of the Kingdome: and since His Majesties taking up arms against them, their proceedings have been full of humble and submissive intreaties to His Majesty to hearken to the faithfull counsell of His Parliament.

2. The second reason why these wars cannot long continue, is, because the counsels and endeavours of those that

that have drawne away his Majesties hart from hearkening to his great and faithfull Counsell of Parliament have beene frustrate and brought to nought God having most miraculously discovered their plots and hindred their wicked designs and purposes, and although they have possessed themselves of many strong holds in this Kingdome yet are they still driven away from them, and as if God sent his Hornet among them, they are stricken with such feare and such terrour, that they oftentimes fly in base manner before them, which is none of the least arguments to prove that God hath a speciall hand in it, and will suddenly bring their malicious and wicked devices upon their owne heads.

Lastly as their wicked Counsells and practises have beene made frustrate and voyd, so to the contrary God hath exceedingly prospered the counsells and endeavours of the Parliament so that they have beene very successfull in all their undertakings foreseeing dangers when they seemed to be farre off and preventing them whereby the hearts of the people have beene well affected to all their proceedings and the Kingdome not onely in a good posture of defence against the invasion of a forraigne enemy which otherwise (no doubt would long since have beene in the bowels of this Kingdome) but the chiefe actors of these miseries are already in a distressed condition and are brought into such a streight that they know not where to flie for

safety,

safety? And therefore let not any be too much frighted and amazed at the present distraction and Calamities of these times, for were this worke but once effected and this Majestie with his great Counsell, which by strong presumption will be very shortly, this Kingdome in all likelyhood will be setled in such a happy condition that he which hath contributed most largely in this cause (though they are sure to be repayd againe) yet will they acknowledge that they would gladly have given that and much more to have seene the happy Reformation Peace and unity that is like to be in this Kingdome.

10

His MAJESTIES

DEMANDS AND PROPOSITIONS PROPOUNDED

By His Majesty, to the Major, Knights, and Gentry; To the City of *Chester*, accompaned with the Prince, Sir *Edward Dering*, and 2. Regiments of Horse and Foote, together with their inditions Answer thereunto.

Likewise the Prince his desire to the Earle of *Essex*, with the true discription of the Baraile fought by the Trained Band of *Chester*, and the Earle of *Newcastle*, Lord *Rivers*, Earle of *Briftoll*, and the Earle of *Lindsey*, who came to take possession of the laid City, *September* 26. with the Number of them that were Slaine on both sides

As it was sent in a Letter from a Gentleman of note, to a speciall friend of his in LONDON

London, Printed for *Thomas Rider* Sept. 29. 1642.

DEMANDS
AND
PROPOSITIONS
PROPOUNDED
By His Majesty, to the Major, Knights, and
Commons, In the City of Chester, assembled
And the Prince, Sir Richard Devereux, and
Commissioners of Horse and Foote to-
gether with their Indicions An-
swer thereunto.
Likewise the Prince his Letter to the Earle of Essex,
with reverse discription of the Buraile fought by
the Trained Band of Cheshire and the Earle of Newcastle,
Lord Byron, Earle of Bristoll, and the Earle of Lindsey,
when they came to take possession of the said City,
September 24. with the Number of
them that were Slaine on
both sides
As it was sent in a Letter from a Gentleman of
note, to a speciall friend of his in
LONDON
London, Printed for Thomas Bates, 1645.

The Kings Maiesties Demands, and Propositions, propounded by his Majesty, to the Major, Knights and Gentry, to the City of CHESTER, Sept. 24. 1642.

UPon Satterday last, His Majesty with-drew Himselfe from *Shrewsbery*, and tooke His Iourney towards *Chester*, accompanied with the Prince and the Duke of *Lenox* his troope, and presently after came the Lord *Chomleyes* Regiment, togeather with 22. peeces of Ordnance

Ordnance, when His Majesty came to the Gates of the City he propounded the ensuing Propositions to the Knights & Gentry that were within the City, *Viz.*

1. *That His Majesty out of the Princely care and affection that he bore to this City of* Chester, *hath and is Resolved to make it his cheife place of Residence, and therefore desires the Knights and Gentry, that are inhabitants thereof to give him admittance.*

2. *That since his Majestyes romming from London he could find no place so convenient and meet to entertaine His Royall Person and posterity, as* Chester, *and that he hoped that they would prove as loyall to him as he hath beene mercifull unto them.*

3. *That his desire is, That they would bee pleased to resigne up the Magazine to his royall Majesty, and withall to deliver the Keys of the Gates of that City, and that they would condescend unto these his Demands as to let the Trained Bands to goe alone with him towards* Shrewesbury, *but unto these Propositions and*

Demands

Demands of his Majesty they would by no meanes condescend, alleadging that if the trained bands were gone and the Magazin resigned up, wherein consisteth the strength of the county, they should be left naked and exposed to the rage of what dangers might befall in these troublesome times, and so would not by any meanes give consent to those his requests.

THE COPPY OF THE LETTER.

Worthy Sir

AFter my best respects recommended unto you and to my loving Cozen your Wife, according to your desire and expectation, I emboldned my selfe to write unto you, the newest occurrances that have happened in these parts, *viz.* Upon the 25. of this instant moneth of *Sept.* the Lord *Strange* and the Earle of *Lindsey* came to the City of Worcester, with about the number of some 600. Mountiners, togeather with divers others of the ragged regiment, acounted and esteemed of us, the scume of the Northern Counties they were also accompanied with the Lord *Rivers*, the Earle of *Newcastle*, and the Earle of *Bristoll*, and came towards the City of Chester, in a Warlike manner, with about 1300. Horse and foote, but they found there as Noble and undaunted spirits as they have done in other places. For

For at their first approach neere unto the City, the Earle of *Lindsey* rod foremost upon a faire and comely Steed, which made some of the Inhabitants of the City of *Chester* thirst after him, to bring him a little lower, and indeed happily might it have beene so, had he not retreated so suddenly, for no sooner had he given the onset upon the Towne, but he fell backe, then the Earle *Rivers*, with his Venomous spleen and envy brought up his foote, thinking to have beought his Divillish desires to perfection, and to have fired the Towne with wild-fire, but by Gods providence and helping hand, all their hopes were fowlfrated, and their devices and Plots could take no effect, for their successe was as bad as their causes, and well worse, these Commissioners of *Array* having performed what they could, and found all was but labour in vaine, they about 2. of the clock in the afternoon, with drew their forces from *Chester* and march towards

ward the borders of *Wales*, and it is supposed to get her more power & strength, but all this while the Inhabitants of *Chester* and the Trained bands tooke example by the men of *Coventry*, Resolving either to loose their Lives in the defence of the King and Parliament, and Gods true Religion, then to yeeld and lye at the mercy of the Enemy. (the hell bred Cavaleers) There are now some forces come from *London* to us, which do much encourage the adjoyning Counties, for since their comming, divers of the Cavaleers have revolted from his Majesty, and have profered their Service to us.

Likewise from the adjoyning Counties they come in dayly, but this City stands in much hazard and danger, for the aforenamed crew, hath vowed revenge upon us, Sir William *Berington* doth very good Service here, and is a great encourage to all the yong Souldiers.

It is credibly reported that the Lord

Brookes

Brookes hath given the Cavaleers a great overthrow in *Shropshire* or else neere Worcester, and hath killed many of them, the Earle of *Essex* is now at *Worcester*, with 22000. men, and hath had some opposition there by the Cavaleers, who have entrenched themselves about the said City, but as yet hath not made any attempt against the City, by reason that the King's Majesty is resolved to meete him there, and to treat upon these present affaires. His Majesty is now going from *Worcester* towards *Chester*, but it is thought he will returne very suddenly againe, this weeke will be a weeke of some sorrow or joy, for both Armies are resolved to meete.

FINIS.

11

A DECLARATION MADE

By the right Honourable the Earle of BATH, one of his Majesties Commissioners of Array, to the whole Country of DEVONSHIRE,

With their answer thereunto annexed;

ALSO

The manner how the said Earle of BATH endeavoured to put the Commission of Array in Execution, at *Southmolton* in *Devonshire*, and how his men were driven out of the Town by the Inhabitants thereof.

Whereunto is added,

A true Relation of the great Battle betweene Prince ROBERT and the Parliaments Forces at *Worcester*; with their happy Victory over his Cavaliers.

Septemb. 29. London Printed for *John wright.*

K. Bourchier (H.) Earl of

BRITISH MUSEUM

A DECLARATION Of the Earle of BATH.

AS there are diſturbances in ſome part of this Kingdome, ſo I underſtand this County of *Devon*, in many places to be falſly poſſeſſed of ſome arbitrary and Tirannicall government pretended to be ſet up by the King, and put in practice (among others by my ſelfe) Wherefore out of my great affection to you and my Country, being now immediately ready to receive the bleſſed Sacrament, I doe ſolemnly in the preſence of Almighty God proteſte and declare that I have undertaken nothing contrary to the Lawes of this Kingdome, nor preiudiciall or hurtfull to any that ſhall obſerve it: and I doe further proteſte that I have no authority neither will I take the value of ſixpence from any man, but to my utmoſt power to protect you all, that every one may enioy their owne.

The Anſwer.

THe diſturbances that are in this Kingdome have growne through the interferring of the Commiſſion of Array with the *Militia* ordained by Parliament.

The Officers in the *Militia* are the ſame for the moſt part that were before in the Lievtenancy, the men approved by His Majeſty; the Array invades the *Militia*,

and hath beene the onely meanes of breaking the peace. So in *Sommerſet* Captaine *Preſton* was aſſayled and his Enſigne ſlaine in the execution of the ordinance of Parliament. And for that cauſe the authors and factors of that crime are proſecuted in *Sherbourne*.

That many places of this County are poſſeſſed with the doubt of an arbitrary government intended is true, That the fault therof is layd to the Kings charge is falſe, That the Commiſſioners of Array doe for the extent of that Commiſſion put in practice an arbitrary and Tirannicall government is true for theſe reaſons.

Firſt that which is but againſt the being of Parliaments is intended for an arbitrary government, but the Commiſſioners of Array doe bend themſelves and the power of their Commiſſions againſt the being of Parliaments.

That the ſuppreſſion of this Parliament, or the drawing of the members of it to other judicature, is againſt the being of Parliaments, is ſo apparant as it needs no more proofe.

Secondly That the Commiſſion it ſelfe is illegall hath beene declared by an authority not to be contradicted. And to put an illegall Commiſſion in execution as to draw his Majeſties government into the cenſure of Tyranny,

Thirdly the Commiſſion of Array is moſt partiall and in that reſpect Tyrannicall. By the Declaration juſtifying and explaining it, it is affirmed that a man of able body and eſtate ſerving in perſon ſhall find armes but for his perſon, but a man weake in body not ſerving ſhal find arms according to the proportion of his eſtate, ſo that by this rule a man of 40 *li. per. an.* and impotent ſhall find a mans arms & a man to weare it; and a potent man of 100, 500. or 1000. *per. an.* ſhal find no more. A

man

man that is potent in boby owes that ability to the Com-
mon-Wealth as the rich of his ſubſtance, why elſe is the
poore able man bound to weare the impotent rich mans
armes? It is moſt unreaſonable then and conſequently
moſt illegall, that the bodily ſtrength of a rich man which
is his great advantage ſhould be the reaſon to eaſe his
eſtate, and the weakeneſſe of his equall draw upon him
a groſſe inequallity of burthen.

This Declaration averreth peremptorily, that this
Commiſſion (which is the thing undertaken) is lawfull,
that it is not prejudiciall, that there is no authority to
take ſixpence, and thereupon the holy Sacrament is ſo-
lemnly received.

For the lawfulneſſe a ſingle Iudgment is oppoſed to
the Parliament and the conſcience bound without reſer-
vation as ſurely for the truth of it.

That's much in reſpect of the antiquity of his law,
the variety of others ſince made the difference of opini-
on. But that it is not prejudiciall, let the before recited
partiallity anſwer.

And for the authority to take ſixpence ſee the power
to impriſon the refuſers.

With the will of any man Charity forbids to have
to doe, becauſe his purpoſes are hid.

But the conſequences of their actions are apparant to
provident men.

The Array doth apparently oppoſe the Parliament, and
intrudes uppon thoſe offices which have beene and are
now poſſeſt by others for the peace and defence of the
Kingdome.

The *Militia* defends the Parliament, and therein ſtrives
to maintaine the King and his poſterity in the ancient
and rightfull government of this Realme by 3 eſtates.

In

In this there is true loyalty and constant peace.
In the other flattery and the seed of perpetuall War.
The *Militia* protects Religion and propriety of goods, and for the Gommon interest in both craves the benefit of Parliament and Church assemblyes.

The Array prevaling will not faile to bring both into single power at least into the danger that both were lately in. But that's forgotten, neither is it seene that the Array must embroyle this Kingdome, that the rebellion may prevaile in *Ireland*.

A Copy of Letter sent to a worthy Gentleman in LONDON.

Honourable Sir,

ACcording to my bobnden duty I cannot chuse but acquaint your worship with the newes at *Southmouton*, I my selfe being present at it.

On Saturday last, the Earl of *Bath* sent one of his servants unto the Maior of the Towne to know whether he should have a peaceable entrance into his Town the Tuesday following, for he was minded to come there, to meet some Gentlemen upon some occasion; the Maior answered the messenger, that if his intent were for peace, he should come, after better consideration, which the Maior had, he was blamed by some of his friends, for that he had not taken respite to give his answer, but that advice came too late.

The Tuesday being the day appoynted, there came the Earle of *Bath*, my Lord *Chichester*, *Baronet Pollard*, Sir *Popham Southcot*, Sir *Ralph Sidneham*, Master *Bosset*, Master *John Acland*, Master *John Gifford*, Captaine *Newcond* with their followers, and diverse others which I cannot name. A Banquet being provided at *Henry Hearders* house the Inne-keeper, where the Earle sent store of Venison,

niſon, and his owne Cooke for to dreſſe it, the common ſort of the Towne fell in a great rage with the Maior and his company, for giving licence that they ſhould enter, and ſwor that if they did attempt any thing there, or read their Commiſſion of Array, they would beate them all downe and kill them, if they were all hanged for it; and thereupon betooke themſelves to Armes, both men, women, and children, about the Croſſe in the Market place, I do verily beleeve they were in number at leaſt 1000. ſome with Musquets loaden, ſome with Halberts and blacke Bills, ſome with Clubs, ſome with Pikes, ſome with dunge Evell, ſome with great Poles, one I ſaw which had beat the calke of a Sive, and beat him out right, and ſet him into a long ſtaffe, the women had filled all the ſteps of the croſſe with great ſtones & got up & ſate on them, ſwearing if they did come there they would braine them. One thing which is worth the noting, a woman which is a Butchers wife, came running with her lapfull of Rams-hornes for to throw at them, ſome of the Gentlemen were comming towards the Croſſe, it was thought to publiſh the Array, preſently the people gave a ſhoute, and did cry, they be come, at which they were all ready to ſtand againſt them, the Gentlemen ſeeing that, betooke themſelves every one to houſe, and after that not one of them nor their ſervants, durſt ſhow themſelves in the ſtreet, it is thought of many, that if the Towne had not riſen againſt them, they would not ſo ſoone have departed, ſurely whatſoever collor they put upon it, their intent was ill, for their men gave very dangerous ſpeeches, but God is able with his ſmaleſt creatures to daunt the hearts of Kings, as with Lice and Frogs and ſuch like: ſo amongſt this crew there were both men and women with Clubs and Staves, which doe daily beg from doore to doore, and when the Earl rod forth of Town, they did throw ſtones after him and his men. I ſhall deſire your Worſhips to excuſe my boldneſſe in writing ſo large; but if you had ſeene it, you would have thought this Relation to be to little. Thus with my humble ſervice unto you and my young Maſter, I commend you both with the whole Family unto the divine protection, and ever reſt.

South-moulton the 15 of *September*, 1642.

From

From the Rendevouz in Worceſter, *Septem.* 24. 1642.

SIR,

THe unſeaſonableneſſe of the weather in, our march with [illegible] Artillery, extreamly retarded our comming to *Worceſter*, which prevented us of taking the Cavaliers, though not of the City of *Worceſter*, which our Horſe obtained with much Hono[ur] though with great difficulty, and diſadvantage; for (as I have [illegible] from my comrade that was in the fight) Prince *Robert* with [illegible] Troopes came to *Worceſter*, and joyned with Sir John *Byron* [illegible] had about 10 Troopes neere the City, though not in a bo[dy] Prince *Robert* ſallies out of the City, and puts his Horſe in Bat[tle] on the faire Meddow, and ſeem'd to challenge the Encounter; C[o]lonell *Sandis*, with his Regiment of Horſe, Captaine *Wingate*, [and] Captaine *Hales*, were about halfe a quarter of a mile, and had [no] paſſage to the Enemy, but in a lane, where they could not ma[rch] five a breſt: yet ſo keene Colonell *Sandis* was, that he adventu[red] to march up, and charged the Prince, which he did ſo effectual[ly] that eleven of them quickly fell, Prince *Robert*, or Prince *Ma[urice]* being ſure wounded in the head, or on his hand: commiſſ[ary] *VVilmot* he comes and relieves Prince *Robert*, and Colonell *S[andis]* and he had a ſingle encounter, Colonell *Sandis* received a ſ[light] wound, but we hope not mortall, and run his ſword up to the hil[t] in commiſary *VVilmots* body, as it is reported, then Captain *VVingates* Troop came on, & did moſt deſperate ſervice, & after him came Captaine *Fines*, and Captaine *Hale*, then came up Ca[p]taine *Auſtins* Troop, who could not all this while get out of the Lane, and gave a moſt deſperate charge, which the enemy be[ing] ſenſible of, and ſeeing more troopes comming, retreated into the City of *VVorceſter*, and Captain *Auſtin* followed them into the City, and did execution on them, and tooke 36 Priſoners, Se[r]jeant Maior *Douglas* was ſlaine on our ſide, we loſt no man of note elſe, the number ſlaine on both ſides are much alike, not exceeding thirty on each ſide: the Lord Generall is now in the City of *VVorceſter*, and the Maior hath bin twice on his knees to the Lord Generall for his pardon in betraying the City into the hands of the Cavaliers, but cannot obtaine it.

FINIS.



12

INSTRVCTIONS

Of the

LORDS and COMMONS

Assembled in

PARLIAMENT,

For the right Honourable *Francis* Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, Lord Lieutenant of the County of LINCOLNE, and to the rest of the Committee, Ordered by both the said Houses to goe into that County, and there put in execution these insuing Instructions, for the setling & preserving the peace of that County and City, and the parts adjoyning

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John Browne Cler, Parliamentorum.

Septemb. 30. London Printed for *F. B.* and are to be sold by *John wright.* 1642.

BRITISH MUSEUM

INſtructions for the right Honourable, Francis *Lord* Willoughby *of* Parham, *Lord Lieutenant of the County of* Lincolne, *Sir* John Wray, *Sir* William Armin *Baronets*, *Sir* Edward Aſcough, *Sir* Chriſtopher Wray, *Sir* Anthony Erby, *Sir* Samuel Adfield *Knights*, Thomas Grantham, Tho. Hatcher, William Ellis, John Broxholme, Eſq; *Members of both Houſes of Parliament, who are hereby appointed and Ordered by both the ſaid Houſes of Parlament, to goe into the County and City of* Lincolne, *there to remaine as a Committee from the Lords and Commons now Aſſembled in Parliament: And they, or any three or more of them, whereof the ſaid* Francis *Lord* Willoughby *to be one, together with the Deputy Lieutenants of the ſaid County, and City, or any of them, ſhall have full Power and Authority, to put in Execution theſe inſuing Inſtructions, for the ſetling and preſerving of the Peace of that County and City, and the parts adjoyning.*

WHereas his Excellency, *Robert* Earle of *Eſſex*, Lord Generall of the Army apoynted to be raiſed for the defence of the Proteſtant Religion, the ſafety of his Majeſties Perſon, and the Parliament, the preſervation of the Lawes, Liberties, and Peace of the Kingdome, and protection of his Majeſties

Subjects from violence and oppreſſion, hath granted Commiſſions unto the ſaid *Francis* Lord *Willoughby*, Sir *Chriſtopher Wray*, Sir *Anthony Erby*, and *Thomas Hatcher*, they ſhall put the ſaid Commiſſions in due Execution, and conduct and lead the ſaid Forces into the County of *Lincolne*, for the preſerving the Peace of that County,

And the ſaid *Francis* Lord *Willoughby*, ſhall have power to raiſe and leavy within the ſaid County of *Lincolne*, City of *Lincolne*, and County of the ſame, ſuch other numbers of Horſe and Foot of the Trained-bands or others, as he ſhall judge convenient for keeping the peace of that County, and the ſervice hereafter mentioned. And ſhall have further power to place Colonels, Captaines, and other Officers over the ſaid Forces, which ſhall have power to lead and conduct the ſame againſt all ſuch as ſhall oppoſe them in the execution of theſe Inſtructions, and to Fight with, Kill and Slay, all ſuch oppoſers.

Whereas *Mountague* Lord *Willoughby*, Sir *Peregrine Barty*, Sir *Edward Iteron*, Sir *John Monſon*, Sir *Philip Terwhitt*, Sir *Charles Rolles*, Sir *William Pelham*, Sir *Jervas Scroope*, Sir *Henry Radley*, Sir *William Thorold*, Sir *William Coney*, Sir *Charles Dalliſon*, Sir *Edward Huſſey*, Sir *Robert Markham*, Sir *William Quadran*, *Charles Dymock* Eſquire, *Thomas Harrington* of *Corby* Gentleman, and divers Popiſh and ill-affected perſons have in a Rebellious and Warlike manner raiſed, armed, and aſſembled themſelves within the City and County of *Lincolne*, to the great terror and affrightment of his Majeſties Liege-people, and therein have leavyed

war

war againſt the King, and Parliament, and doe continue in actuall Rebellion,

You ſhall withall or any part of the Forces under your commands, reſort to the ſaid County and City of *Lincolne*, of *Nottingham*, *Yorkeſhire*, or elſewhere, as occaſion ſhall ſerve, and ſhall cauſe the aforeſaid perſons where ever you can find them, and all other that have joyned and confederated with them in this their wicked Rebellion, or ſo many of them as you ſhall thinke fit to be ſummoned, to render themſelves into your hands to be brought up unto the Parliament, there to anſwer for theſe their unlawfull and Trayterous actions according to the Lawes.

And if they refuſe to obey the ſaid Summons, and you be denyed entrance into the ſaid City of *Lincoln*, or any other Towne in the ſaid County, or into the Houſes of any of the perſons before recited, or of their confederates, you ſhall by force Beſiege, Batter, and Subdue the ſaid City, Towns and houſes, and ſhall ſeize upon their perſons, and ſhall bring or ſend them in ſafe cuſtody to the Parliament.

You ſhall reſtore to their dwellings and goods, all ſuch perſons as have bin driven or fled out of the ſaid City or County, and you ſhall certifie what particular loſſes they have received, and the values thereof, that ſo ſatisfaction may be made them out of the eſtates of the Delinquents in that County.

And if you ſhall find no conſiderable reſiſtance in the ſaid County, then you ſhall ſettle what force you thinke convenient both of horſe and foot, for keeping the peace of that County and City, and de-

ſending his Majeſties ſubjects from oppreſſion and violence, and ſhall give notice thereof to both Houſes of Parliament, that you may receive their further commands.

You ſhall have power to require the aid and aſſiſtance of the Lord Lieutenants, and Deputy Lieutenants of the County of *Yorke, Nottingham, Rutland, Norfolke, and North Hampton*, or any of them, and to come in aſſociation for the mutuall Peace of each other.

You are hereby authorized and required to diſarme all Popiſh Recuſants, all the aforenamed Perſons, that have leavied war againſt the King and Parliament, and to take from them all Tents, Wagons, Horſes for ſervice, great ſaddles, and all other warlike furniture whatſoever, and from all ſuch other dangerous and ill affected perſons, as well Clergymen as others, as have ſent moneyes, Horſes, armes, ammunition or victuals, to the ſaid Rebels, towards the maintenance of the ſaid force, raiſed in the ſaid County or City, or have ſent any money, armes, ammunition or Horſes, to aſſiſt the Delinquents or Malignant Partie, now about the King, or to any other place, to be employed againſt the Parliament, as alſo all ſuch as have teſtified their diſaffection to the Common-Wealth, and malice againſt the Proceedings of Parliament, by ſubſcribing that moſt inſolent, ſeditious, and moſt ſcandalous Petition ſent unto the Houſe of Commons, by the Sheriffes of that County, a true Copy of which Petition, and of the names ſubſcribed, you ſhall receive unto it,

under

under the hand of the Clerke of the House of Commons, as also all such as have put the Commission of *Array* in Execution, adjudged illegall by both Houses of Parliament.

You or any three or more of you, whereof the Lord Lieutenant to be one, shall also in the name of both Houses of Parliament, require all such persons who have in their Custody any part of the publike Magazine of that County, to deliver the same to you, or some of you, to bee disposed of, and imployed for the defence of the said County, and in case of refusall, you are hereby authorized to seize, take, carry away, and dispose the same for the purposes aforesaid, and to cause the persons so refusing to be apprehended as Delinquents, and sent in safe custody to the Parliament.

You are authorized and hereby enabled and required to put in execution in the said County and City of *Lincolne*, the Propositions of both Houses of Parliament, concerning the subscription of any summe or sums of money or plates, or raising of Horse, Horses, men, or arms, for the defence of the King, and both Houses of Parliament, and shall appoint such dayes, times and place, for the furtherance of that service as you shall thinke meet and convenient, and shall appoint Treasurers, Receavers, Commissaries for valuing of Horse, and other Officers, meet for that businesse, and shall have power to send to such as are of ability to know what they will contribute towards this businesse, and you shall have power to pay such Souldiers, as shall be by you

or

or any of you carryed into the said County, or r
sed in the said County, out of the said monies r
sed upon the said Propositions, and you shall a
compt for the overplus if any remaine, and likewi
returne Certificates under three or more of you
hands into the Chamber of London what sums o
money and Plate is underwrit and brought in, tha
they may be entred also there.

Lastly If any man of quality and considerable estat
have removed their dwellings out of the County o
Lincolne, you shall enquire where they are setled, an
give notice thereof unto the Parliament: that Order
may be taken to receive their answers concerning th
Propositions for Subscription of money Plate an
Horses, for defence of the King and Kingdome.

Iohn Browne Cler. Parliament.

FINIS.

AN

ARGUMENT

OR,

DEBATE IN LAVV:

OF THE GREAT QVESTION CONCERNING THE *MILITIA*;

As it is now ſettled by ORDINANCE of both the HOUSES of PARLIAMENT.

By which, it is endeavoured, to prove the Legalitie of it, and to make it warrantable by the fundamentall Laws of the Land.

In which, Anſwer is alſo given to all Objections that do ariſe, either directly, or collaterally concerning the ſame.

All which is referred to the judicious Reader.

By *F. Marsh* C. Lincolns Inn.

LONDON:
Printed by *Tho. Paine*, and *M. Simmons*, for *Tho. Underhill*, at the *Bible* in *Wood-ſtreet*, 1642.

AN ARGUMENT

OR,

DEBATE IN LAW,

OF THE GREAT QUESTION

CONCERNING THE MEDIA,

INSTITUTE
MUSEUM

By which, it is endeavoured, to prove the Legality of it, and to make it warrantable by the fundamental Laws of the Land.

In which, Power is also given to all Objections that do arise, either directly, or collaterally concerning the Case.

All which is referred to the judicious Reader.

LONDON.

Printed for The Baker, and M. Simmons, for The Vade at the Sign of the Bible in Newgate-street. 1679.

TO THE READER.

Courteous READER;

THat which I framed for my own private satisfaction onely, in these distracted times, in which every man (that resolves not to stand Neuter) ought to have his conscience poysed by good grounds and principles, lest that it suffer shipwrack in the conclusion; I do here (though unwillingly) present to the publique view; in which weak and poore indeavour, I have borrowed some of the Parliaments grounds to expatriate my self upon, that I might the better convince thy iudgement, and mine own: but the greater part are mine; which I hope will not blast the rest, nor make it unfruitfull to thee; but rather more fully inform, satisfie and convince thee of the truth of the Parliaments assertions: and to this end I have not used any affected style, but have (to the utmost of my endeavour) invested the Law with its own plainnesse and integrity: for I have alwayes raised this conclusion to my self, that where I look for

words, there I expect leaſt Law, which is confirmed unto thee, as a truth, in theſe dayes. Now Reader, ſhortly to conclude this, (for the Work doth not deſerve a Preface or Epiſtle) if happily there may be any thing in it, that may merit thy more ſerious conſideration, and make thee a true Subiect to the King, by being faithfull to the Parliament; I ſhall expect no greater a reward of my labour, then that, confidently beleeving that the iſſue of it will be, thine, and my happineſſe. Farewell.

Thine to love and ſerve thee,

F. Mark.

BRITISH MUSEUM

AN ARGVMENT IN MAINTENANCE OF THE *MILITIA*, Setled by ORDINANCE of PARLIAMENT.

THe generall Queſtion is but ſhortly this; *Whether the* Militia, *as it is now ſetled by both the Houſes of Parliament, be warrantable by Law, or not?*

The Caſe, with the Circumſtances, upon which this generall Queſtion is ſtated, depends upon theſe two *Queres*:

1. *Whether the* King *by his Prerogative hath the ſole and onely power of ordering and diſpoſing of the* Militia *of his Kingdome or not?* Admitting that he hath: then the next and maine ſcruple is:

2. *Whether both the Houſes of Parliament, in time of imminent danger,* (the King refuſing to ſettle the *Militia* for the defence and ſecuritie of his people) *may by an Ordinance of Parliament, without his Majeſties conſent, ſettle the* Militia, *and put the Kingdome into a poſture of defence or not?*

1. For the firſt point, I conceive very clearly, that the King by his Prerogative, warrantable by the Lawes of the Land, performing the truſt repoſed in him, hath the onely power of diſpoſing of the *Militia* of this Kingdome; and therefore I ſhall not debate this, ſo much out of ſcruple or doubt, as to give ſatisfaction to the unlearned; and I ſhall prove it in reaſon thus: The King is *Caput Reipublicæ, & pater patriæ*, that is, the head of the Common-wealth, and Father of his Country;

and hath this great truſt committed to him by God, and his people, of governing of them in peace and happineſſe, by maintaining and defending of their Religion, Lawes, and Liberties; which, that he may be the more obliged to doe, he taketh a ſolemne Oath at his Coronation, that he will doe and performe this, according to the truſt repoſed in him; the due execution whereof, being of ſo high conſequence to this Kingdome, and of ſo great difficultie to himſelfe, and therefore not to be executed without great care, circumſpection, and trouble; the Lawes and Conſtitutions of this Realme, hath in favour and ayde of his Majeſtie (who is intended alwayes to be imployed and negotiated *Circa arduа regni*, about the high things of the Kingdome) allowed unto him, many prerogatives, priviledges, and exemptions, above all his Subjects. Among which, I take this in our Caſe to be one; for as our Religion, Lawes, and Liberties, are committed in truſt to the King, ſo are our lives alſo: which he is bound to defend aſwell by the materall ſword, if occaſion be, as by the ſword of Juſtice, and therefore as it is well knowne, all proſecutions by way of Indictment againſt any man, for the taking away of the life of another, are at the ſuite of the King, and the King onely can pardon the offence, and no other. For he alone hath the charge of the lives of his Subjects committed to him, and this is ſuch an inſeperable truſt, that the King cannot grant this over to another, as it is
H.7.fo.8.a. reſolved in 20. *H.7.* where it is ſaid, *That a grant of power to pardon Felons, by the King to another, is not good, for that it is a prerogative annexed to the Crowne, and cannot be ſevered*: But here it is not to be underſtood that no prerogative of the King can be ſevered from the Crowne, for ſome may, as I ſhall afterwards ſhew, and that by grant of the King too: but that this among others, is ſuch a prerogative as cannot be ſevered, and the reaſon of this, is, as I conceive, for that the life of a man is of ſo high and puiſſant nature, that none leſſe then God, or the King, ought to have intereſt and power in; and though the Common-wealth looſe a member, it is the King onely who looſeth a Subject, and therefore the killing of a man, is ſaid in the Indictment to be againſt his Crowne and dignitie, and not againſt the Common-wealth; for though mediately it be an offence againſt the Common-wealth too: yet it is a more neare and immediate offence againſt the King: for that he is intruſted with the lives of his Subjects.

Now as the King is bound to defend his Subjects by the Law, ſo in like manner he is bound to defend and protect them by the Sword, if occaſion be, as I have ſaid before, from all danger, both of forraigne and domeſticke enemies. And therefore, as there is a Leigeance, that is, a faithfull and true obedience of the Subject due to his Soveraigne, as it is
Rep. Calvins interpreted in the 7. *Rep. Calvins caſe*: So there is a protection due from

the

the Soveraigne to the Subject; for he ought not onely *regere*, to rule, but alſo *Protegere ſubditos ſuos*, to protect his Subjects. So as betweene the Soveraigne and Subject, there is *Duplex & reciprocum ligamen*, that is, a double and reciprocall bond; *Quia ſicut ſubditus regi tenetur ad obedientiam, ita Rex ſubdito tenetur ad protectionem*, for as the Subject is bound to obey the King, ſo the King is bound to protect his Subject; and therefore in 20. *H.* 7. it is holden, that there is a Liege or Leigeance betweene the King and the Subject: and *Forteſcue cap.* 13. ſaith, *Rex ad tutelam legis, corporum & bonorum erectus eſt*, that is, he is erected King, to defend the Law, the bodies, and goods of his Subjects: and in the Acts of Parliament of 10. *R.* 2. 11. *R.* 2. and 14. *H.* 8. &c. Subjects are called *Leige people*. And in the Acts of Parliament of 34. *H.* 8. and 35. *H.* 8. &c. the King is called the *Liege Lord* of his Subjects; and with this agreeth Maſter *Skene* in his Booke *de expoſitione verborum*, that Leigeance is the mutuall bond & obligation betwixt the King and his Subjects, by which Subjects are called his *leige Subjects*, for that they are bound to obey and ſerve him: and he is called their *Leige Lord*, for that he ought to maintaine and defend them: Wherefore it is truely ſaid, that *Protectio trahit ſubjectionem, & ſubjectio protectionem*, Protection draweth ſubjection, and ſubjection protection.

20. *H.* 7. 8.

10. *R.* 2. *ca.*
11. *R.* 2. *ca.* 1
14. *H.* 8. *ca.*
34. *H.* 8. *ca.*
35. *H.* 8. *ca.*

By all which it is manifeſt, as alſo by the Oath of the King, taken at his Coronation, lately publiſhed by the Parliament, that the King is bound to protect the lives & liberties of his Subjects, ſo long as the Subject is obedient to the King; for protection and leigeance are relatives, and have a neceſſary and reciprocall dependance the one upon the other: and this is the reaſon that we ſay that a man outlawed, is out of the protection of the King; ſo that heretofore a man outlawed was ſaid to have *Caput Lupinum*, that is, a Wolfes head: ſo that any man might then have killed him, as *Fleta* ſaith, and other old Books: becauſe that by his diſobedience to the King, he had deprived himſelfe of the benefit of the regall and legall protection. I doe not ſay, that if the King withdraw his regall protection from his Subjects, that his Subjects may withhold their obedience from their Soveraigne: yet I am certaine, that the Books before cited imply as much. Beſides, reaſon will arme every man thus farre, as to conclude, that the cauſe and ground of his obedience, is his Soveraignes protection, and therefore if his Soveraigne withdraw the one, he may deny the other. Againe, denying to protect his Subjects, is a plaine refuſall to be ruled by Law, and this, as *Bracton* ſaith, makes him a Tyrant no King, and my obedience is due to him, as a King, not as a Tyrant. But I paſſe this over, as a matter of ſo great conſequence at this time, conſidering the bad principles of many men, that I had rather offend in withholding of my judgement, then in publiſhing of it.

Fleta. lib. 1 *cap.* 27.

But yet more fully, that the King is bound to protect his Subjects,

F.N.B.fo.232. *F. N. B.* is expreſſe. *Nota*, ſaith the Booke, that the King is bound of right by the Lawes, to defend his Subjects, and their goods and chattels, lands and tenements, and therefore by the Law, every lawfull Subject is taken to be within the protection of the King, and if he be put out of protection for his offence, then every man may doe with him as with an enemy of the King: Here note, that the Subject cannot looſe his protection due to him by his Soveraigne, but by his owne default.

F. N. B. fo. 113. a. And in *F. N. B. fol.* 113. *a.* it is there ſaid, that the King ought of right to ſave and defend his Realme, as well againſt the Sea, as againſt enemies, that it be not ſurrounded or waſted: and to provide remedy for it; and alſo to provide that his Subjects have their paſſage throughout the Realme by all high wayes in ſafeguard. And this is warranted by the Commiſſion of *Sewers*, which is directed by the King to Commiſſioners, to inquire of, &c. and to heare and determine all faults and breaches of Walls, Ditches, &c. Sea-bankes, &c. in the beginning of which Commiſſion, the fractions of the Walls, or Sea-bankes, is cited, and in the body of it, the King ſaith, *Nos pro eo quod ratione dignitatis noſtræ regiæ ad providendum ſalvationi regni noſtri circumquaque ſumus aſtricti, volentes in hac parte congruum & feſtinum remedium adhiberi, aſſignavimus vos, &c.* Here the King himſelfe ſaith expreſſely, in this Commiſſion, that he is every way bound, by reaſon of his royall function, and Kingly office, *Providere ſalvationi regni ſui*, that is, to provide ſafety for his Kingdome. And is the Law thus, that the King is bound to protect and defend his Subjects, *Per mare, per terras?* By the Sea, from all Pyrates and Robbers, as alſo from the invaſions of forraigne enemies: and by the Land, from any domeſticke dangers, either by inbred rebellions, or civill Commotions? Why then the Concluſion that I raiſe upon theſe premiſſes, is but this; That it is conſonant and agreeable to all reaſon, that the King executing of the truſt repoſed in him, ſhould not be denied the means, by which he may reſpond that great confidence placed in him, by his owne care and fidelitie: and God forbid, that we ſhould require the due execution of this great function, of his Majeſties part, and yet that we ſhould withdraw from him the meanes, by which he ſhould performe it; for if ſo, to be a King, would be farre worſe, then an Ægyptian ſervitude.

Wherefore I conceive that it ſtands with all the juſtice and equity in the world, that the King (who hath ſo great a charge upon him, that greater cannot be, by which, he, as *Vicarius Dei*, that is, Gods Vicar, as *Bracton* ſpeaketh, is obliged to defend the perſons and property of his Subjects) ſhould have all the Caſtles, Forts and ſtrong holds, and all the Ports and Havens at his rule and diſpoſition, and that generally

he ſhould have the ordering of the *Militia* throughout the Realm: ſo that by this means he may be inabled to diſcharge that great truſt that is committed to him (without which he cannot be) and at the laſt to render a juſt account to God, of his Stewardſhip.

And this certainly *Bracton li. 2. de acquirendo rerum dominio*, intends, when he ſaith, that the King, *Habet ea quæ ſunt pacis, ut populus ſibi traditus, in pace ſileat & quieſcat, &c.* that is, he hath thoſe things, which belong to peace, that he may govern his people committed to his charge in peace and quietneſſe. For as the King hath *ordinariam juriſdictionem*, that is, ordinary juriſdiction, as *Bracton* ſaith before, and this to govern his Subjects according to Law and right: ſo, *Habet ea quæ pacis ſunt*; that is, not onely the Law to maintain peace among his Subjects: but alſo, *Ea quæ belli ſunt*, all thoſe things, which conduce to the protecting and defending of his Subjects from any forrein invaſion, or domeſticke danger, or otherwiſe he could not poſſibly maintain peace according to the ſaying of *Bracton*, and as by his Oath he is bound. *Bract. l. 2. c. 2.*

The King by the Law hath this Prerogative allowed unto him, that he onely may proclaime warre, and he onely can eſtabliſh peace among his people, as the 7. *Rep.* is: why then I argue thus, It is a greater prerogative to have power to proclaim warre: then it is, to have the onely means to maintain it: and therefore it is not to be conceived, that the Law, that would allow the King the greater power, would deny him the leſſe. For, *Qui majora concedit, minora non denegabit*: He that granteth the greater, will not deny the leſſe. Again, to allow the King power to proclaime warre, and to deny him the means to maintain warre, were abſurd, and the Law will not admit of any abſurditie. Wherefore I conceive, for theſe reaſons alſo, that the King by the Law, hath likewiſe this prerogative of the ſole ordering and diſpoſing of the *Militia* of the Kingdom. *7. Rep. fo. 25.*

Now to conclude this point, I ſhall paralell this caſe, to one caſe onely in the Law, and that is to *Mittons* caſe in the 4. *Rep.* where the caſe is thus: Queen *Elizabeth* by her Letters Patents under the great Seal, granted the Office of the Clerk of the County Court, of the County of Somerſet, to *Mitton*, with all Fees, &c. for terme of his life: and after the Queen conſtituted *Arthur Hopton* Eſquire, Sheriffe of the ſame County, who interrupted *Mitton*, claiming this Office, as incident to his Office of Sheriffe, and upon this he appointed a Clerk himſelf of the County Court; and here the ſole queſtion was, whether this grant by the Queen, were good, or not? And it was adjudged upon ſolemne debate, that it was not, and the principall reaſon given wherefore the grant was nought, was, becauſe that great inconveniences might follow to Sheriffes, who are great and ancient Officers and Miniſters of Juſtice, *4. Rep. fo. 3. Mittons caſe*

if ſuch grants ſhould be of validity, for that there is great truſt repoſed in them, for which they are reſponſible, as it is there ſaid: whereupon it is concluded, that Law, and reaſon requires, that Sheriffes who are publick Officers and Miniſters of juſtice, and who have an office of ſo great eminencie, confidence, perill and charge, that they ought to have all rights appertaining to their office. And in this caſe there is cited another caſe, to this purpoſe, *Mich.* 39. & 40. of the Queen reſolved by all the Judges of *England*, as my Lord *Coke* ſaith, that the grants of the cuſtodies of Goales, of the Counties, either by King *H.* 8. or afterwards, were utterly void: and the like reaſon is given in this caſe, as in *Mictons* caſe: for that cuſtodies of Goales belong to the office of Sheriffe, who being immediate Officer to the Courts of the King, muſt anſwer for eſcapes, and ſhall be ſubject to amerciaments, if he hath not the body in Court upon proceſſe to him directed, &c. and therefore it is reaſon, that he ſhould put in ſuch keepers of the ſaid Goals; for whom he ſhould anſwer, according to the purview of the Act of 14. *E.* 3. For otherwiſe againſt the rule of reaſon and equitie, *Alius offendet, alius plectitur*: that is, one man ſhould offend, another ſhould be puniſhed. Now if the Law be thus, in theſe caſes, that you ſhall not take away theſe offices from the Sheriffe, who is an Officer of truſt, and onely chargeable for any miſdemeanor, in the executing of the ſame; for that by this means, you ſhould diſable him to execute his Office, according to the confidence repoſed in him, and yet ſhould puniſh him for the not doing of his duty; which ſhould be againſt all reaſon: *à fortiori*, I ſay in this caſe, you ſhall not deny the King, who hath the greateſt Office of truſt, and charge, that can be, the means and way to perform this truſt, and to undergo this charge, which cannot be otherwiſe done, then by allowing of the King this prerogative (ſo long as he doth perform the truſt that runs along with it) of having the ſole diſpoſing and ordering of the *Militia* of his Kingdom.

4. E. 3. c. 10.

And without queſtion *Bracton* when he ſaith, that the King hath *Gladium materiale*, that is, the materiall ſword, can intend nothing elſe by this, but *Gladium belli*, which is the *Militia*, and *gladium* by a Synecdoche, may well comprehend and be ſet *pro omnibus rebus militaribus*, that is, for all things military; And it is uſuall in holy Writ, when God threatens the heavy judgement of warre upon any Nation, to do it under the notion and expreſſion of a ſword, by this intending, *Bellum*, that is, warre, with all its ſad effects. Wherefore I conclude this point, that the King hath this prerogative allowed unto him by the Law: for theſe preceding reaſons. 1. For that it were inconvenient for the King, who by the Law is bound to protect and defend his ſubjects, if he ſhould not have this power. 2. For that the Law hath given unto

him

him a greater prerogative, and therefore will not deny him the leſſe: and thirdly and laſtly, for that it would be abſurd, that the King ſhould have power to proclaime warre, but not to maintain it.

For the ſecond queſtion, which is, as I conceive, much more difficult, then the former, and which is the great doubt and dilemma of the time, which is but thus: whether the two Houſes of Parliament, the Kingdom being in imminent danger, and the King refuſing to put it into a poſture of defence, may by their Ordinance, without the conſent of the King, ſettle the *Militia*, and put the Kingdom into a poſture of defence, or not? Second part.

And I do conceive, under favour, in ſome clearneſſe, that they may, and that in ſo doing, they have done no more then what is warrantable by the Law. And this I ground in the firſt place upon the imminent danger, and extreame neceſſity, that the kingdom is in: and therefore though it ſhould be admitted, that they could not do it, at another time, yet I conceive that by reaſon of the neceſſity, it is warranted by the Law for them to do it at this time. 6.

It is a rule in our Law, firſt cited in *Bracton*, and remembred in the 10. *Rep.* that *illud quod alias licitum non eſt, neceſſitas facit licitum, & neceſſitas inducit privilegium, quod jure privatur.* In time of neceſſitie, illegall acts, are made legall: and things utterly againſt Law, juſtifiable; Upon this rule I might multiply caſes, but becauſe I do not affect, *via trita obambulare*, to go in the common road, therefore I ſhall onely put ſome of the moſt materiall caſes, which I find to this purpoſe, and the others I ſhall omit. *Brack. fo.* 2 47 *a.* 10. *Rep. fo.* 61. *a.*

In *Pl. Com.* it is ſaid, that when Laws or Statutes are made, yet there are ſome things, which are excepted, and forſepriſed out of the proviſion of them, by the Law of reaſon, though that they are not expreſſed by words. As breaking of a priſon is Felony in a priſoner himſelf by the Statute *De frangentibus priſonam*: yet if the priſon be burnt, and they which are in, break the priſon for ſalvation of their lives, this ſhall be excuſed by the Law of reaſon, and yet the words of the Statute are againſt it. *Pl. Com. fo.* 13. *b.*

And 14. *H.* 7. Jurors who were ſworn upon the iſſue, and by the Law ought not to depart, untill they are agreed of their Verdict, for fear of a great tempeſt departed, and ſevered themſelves: and it was there held that they ſhould not be amerced, and that their verdict afterwards was good. And this was thus holden (ſaith the book) for the neceſſity of the chance, but otherwiſe they ſhould have been grievouſly puniſhed. So by the Law, for the ſalvation of my own life, I may kill another. And as the Law makes that lawfull, in caſe of neceſſity, which otherwiſe would not be lawfull, when it concerns any mans private: 14 *H.* 7. *fo.* 2

ſo

so *à fortiori*, when it concerneth the Common-weal, and therefore as the book is in 29. *H.* 8. *Dyer*, a man may justifie the making of Bulwarks, in another mans soyl, without licence, and the razing of a house which burns, for safeguard of the houses of the neighbours. So it is if the Sheriffe pursue a Felon to a house, and for to have the Felon, he breaketh the doore of the house, this is justifiable. So in 13. *H.* 8. the inhabitants of a Citie in time of warre, if they conceive that the Suburbs may endanger the taking thereof, may lawfully burn or destroy the suburbs, for the Towns or Cities preservation, and the common safetie. And in these cases, necessity, and the good of the republick, maketh that lawfull, which otherwise would not be lawfull.

29. H.8 *Dyer*. 36. b. 8. E. 4. 23. *Br Cu-rome* 45.

13. H. 8. 16. E. 4. 35 b.

It is a certain rule, that all Laws ought to receive an equitable and favourable construction, according as opportunitie and the necessity of the case, administers occasion: for, *Summum jus, est summa injuria*: that is, over-strict observance of the Law, may sometimes be unlawfull. And *à fortiori*, they shall receive such a construction, where it concerns the Common-wealth: and accordingly the Judges in all ages, as they ought, so they have alwayes made such interpretation and declaration of the Laws, that the Common-wealth should not be prejudiced. And this is the reason of these cases, which have been often adjudged, that if a man bind himself, that he will not exercise his trade, or that he will not manure his land, or that he will not marry, that the Obligation in these cases is void, for that it is against the weal publike.

And this is the reason also, that hath made the Judges alwayes to adjudge all the Grants of the King, of Monopolies, or Impositions upon the Subject, without Act of Parliament, to be against the Law, for that they were against the good of the Common-wealth, and libertie of the Subject. And this is grounded upon *Magna Charta*, which saith, *Quod nullus liber. homo, &c.* that no free-man shall be taken and imprisoned, or be disseised of his Free-hold or liberties, but by lawfull judgement of his Peers, or by the Law of the land.

9. H.3. ca. 29.

And if the Law be such, that the King by such grants, which are against Law, and the weal publick, cannot take away my free-hold or livelihood from me, but that such grants shall rather be adjudged to be void, (against the opinion of *Bracton* who saith, *De chartis Regiis & factis regum, non debent, nec possunt justiciarii, nec privatæ personæ disturbare*: that is, of the Kings Charters, and his deeds, neither Justices, nor private persons, may, or ought to dispute: which clearly is against the known and established Law at this day) why then certainly, it will follow, that if the King, either by action, or omission, go about to endanger the weal publick, and endeavour the destruction of it, which *ex consequenti*, must of necessity bring ruine to every individuall person of it:

Bract. fo. 34. b. 2.

that

that in ſuch caſe, thoſe who are intruſted with the common good, (as the Parliament at this time is) may by all meanes poſſible, indeavour the preſervation of it: but I doe not here intend by violent oppoſing or depoſing of his ſacred Majeſtie, of which I ſhall ſpeake a word afterwards, but by ſetling of the Kingdome, into ſuch a ſtate and condition, as our ſage Parliament hath now done, that it may be able to defend his ſacred Perſon, and it ſelfe, againſt any forraigne or domeſticke ſurpriſe or invaſion.

It is a true Rule, that *Intereſt Reipublicæ, ne ſuare, quis malè utatur*, a man (contrary to the opinion of the vulgar) may not doe with his propertie as he pleaſeth; for that the Common-wealth hath an intereſt peramount the propertie of any private man, and there is no Subject, but that, either more or leſſe, according to his Talent, or place, that God hath put him in, either in Church, or State, is intruſted with the common good: and therefore if he doth contrary to his truſt, uſe his Talent or place, againſt that end for which it was given unto him, he is puniſhable by the Law for it.

And therefore if a man will deſtroy his woods, caſt his money into the Sea, burne his Corn upon the Land, or in his Barnes, or the like, cleerely by the Law he is puniſhable for it: and agreeing with this *Trin.* 4° *Jac.* many were indicted of a Riot in the Starre-chamber, for putting in of their Beaſts into Corne, claiming their Common there, and in this caſe, the Lord Chancellor ſaid, that though they had good title to the Common, yet that they ſhould be here puniſhed, for that they had deſtroyed the Corne, which is againſt the weale publique.

And without queſtion, the rigour of all Lawes, ought to receive ſuch qualification, and equitable conſtruction, that the Common-wealth doe not ſuffer or be indamaged. The Law was made to ſupport the common good, and therefore that Law is againſt Law, that is againſt the common good. *Nemo ſibi naſcitur*, no man was borne for himſelfe; all men both Rulers and people, were borne to this end, to contribute, and conferre ſome good to the Republique: and therefore *Qui ſibi ſolum vivit*, he that lives to himſelfe onely, doth not live to that end, for which he was created, much leſſe he, which makes conſtruction of the Law againſt that end, for that were to deſtroy both Law, and government, which every man was borne to defend.

It is a Rule in the Law, that Judges ought alwayes to make ſuch conſtruction of the Deeds of men, and of their Grants, *Ut res magis valeat, quàm pereat*, that is, that they ſhould rather take effect, then periſh: ſo I ſay, it may well be taken for a Rule, that the Judges ſhould not ſo conſtrue the Law, that the Law ſhould deſtroy it ſelfe, which will neceſſarily follow in the deſtruction of the Common-wealth; but that they

ſhould ſo interpret it, *Ut reſpublica magis valeat & floreat, quam pereat & deſtruatur*, that the Common-wealth ſhould rather flouriſh, then periſh, and be deſtroyed.

I agree, that in the caſe in queſtion, by the ſtrict Rule and Law of Prerogative, the governing and diſpoſing of the *Militia* of the Kingdome is onely in the King, and that he onely may proclaime warre, and he alone eſtabliſh peace amongſt his people: yet we ought not ſo to conſtrue this Law, that it is ſo in the King, that it cannot be ſevered from him, and that no other can intermeddle with it, without the conſent of the King, though that it be for the Weale publique, and for the ſecuring of the Kingdome, being in imminent danger, the King refuſing to ſettle it, as in right he ought, upon the prayer of his people, repreſented in the deſires of the Parliament. For to make ſuch a conſtruction were utterly to confound, and deſtroy, both Law, & Common wealth, as I have ſaid before, and therefore ought not to be admitted.

The King hath this Prerogative allowed him by the Law, that he ſhall not be bound by any Statute, except that he be expreſſely named
Rep. fo. 14. b. in the Statute, yet it is reſolved in the 5. *Rep.* that all Statutes, which are made to ſuppreſſe wrong, to take away fraud, or to prevent the decay of Religion, ſhall binde the King, though he be not named in them; for, ſaith the Booke, *Religion, Juſtice, and Truth, are the ſure Supporters of the Crownes and Diadems of Kings.* So I ſay in this caſe, the King by his Prerogative (as I have ſaid before) ought to have the ſole diſpoſing of the *Militia*: But if in imminent danger, he refuſe to ſettle this for the ſafetie of himſelfe, and his Kingdome, according to the truſt repoſed in him, his Prerogative ought then to give way for the ſecuring of his Crowne, that thoſe who are intruſted with the Weale publique, as the Parliament is, may ſettle this for the defence of the King, and Kingdome, according, as in truth, they are bound, as I ſhall afterwards ſhew.

It is a Rule in our Law, *That the King can doe no wrong*; and with this
action fo. 107. accords *Bracton, Nihil aliud poteſt Rex in terris, cum ſit Dei miniſter & vicarius, niſi id ſolum, quod de jure poteſt, nec quod principi placet, legis habet vigorem*, the King can doe nothing upon earth, ſeeing that he is Gods miniſter and Vicar, but that onely which of right he ought to doe, neither ought the Kings will, to have the force and vigour of a Law. Here note, that the will of the King, ought to ſubſcribe to the Law; and not the Law to the will of the King.

Com. fo. 246. And in *Pl. Com.* 1. *Rep.* & 5. *Rep.* it is ſaid, *That the King cannot doe a wrong, neither will his Prerogative be any warrant to him to doe injurie to*
Rep. fo. 44. b. *another*: and if the King cannot injure one ſingle perſon, without que-
Rep. fo. 55. b. ſtion, he cannot injure all the Common-wealth, which he ſhould doe in

this

this caſe, if both the Houſes of Parliament, in this time of imminent danger, the King refuſing to joyn with them, ſhould not have this power of ſetling the *Militia*, in defence of the Kingdome, without his conſent.

I agree with *Bracton*, that the King, *Parem non habet in regno, nec ſuperiorem*, He hath no equall, nor ſuperiour in his Kingdome; but that is to be underſtood, that there is no man above or equall with his Majeſtie; for he ſaith afterwards; *Rex non debet eſſe ſub homine ſed ſub Deo, & ſub lege*, that the King ought not to be under man, but under God, and under the Law: and after *fo. 34. a*, he ſaith, *Rex habet ſuperiorem, Deum, ſcilicet, item legem, per quam factus eſt Rex, item Curiam ſuam, viz. Comites Barones, &c.* the King hath a ſuperiour, to wit, God, in like manner, the Law, which made him King, and alſo his Court, to wit, the Earles, Barons, &c. which cannot be underſtood of any other, then the high Court of Parliament. And in the places before cited, he ſaith, *Quod non eſt Rex, ubi dominatur voluntas, non Lex*, He is not King, when his will rules, not the Law. Then if it be thus, as *Bracton* ſaith, that the Law, and the two Houſes of Parliament, are above the King: and that the King is as no King, when he doth not ſubmit to the Law, (which will of neceſſitie follow, for that the ſame Law, which made him King, injoynes and obliges him alſo to defend his people committed to his charge; and without doubt, the one as juſt as the other, and if he refuſe to protect his people, which is a diſpiſing, and a depreſſing of that Law which gave him this Soveraignitie: certainly, the Law will not defend him in this his tyranny) I conceive, that in this caſe, the Law will in its own defence, and in default of the King, who ought to have maintained the Law, inable the two Houſes of Parliament, to put the Kingdome into a poſture of warre, in defence of the King, his Lawes and Subjects.

Bracton fo. 5

Bracton fo. 3

But now the great Queſtion is, What, and where is the ground of our feares, and jealouſies, and where is the imminent danger; for, many ſay, that they cannot ſee it, and then it not being viſible, and obvious to every eye: a Queſtion as great in ſhew as the former, ariſes upon this, Who is, or may be the proper Judge of this imminent danger. To the firſt, I anſwer, that our feare, and the imminent danger pretended, is no Phantaſme or *Chimerâ*, as ſome would have it, but it is a reall and viſible cauſe of feare, *Et talis metus qui cadere poteſt in virum conſtantem*, ſuch a feare, as may befall a conſtant man, as my Lord *Cooke* deſcribeth a feare, that may poſſeſſe a generous and ſettled ſpirit. And that it is thus, I appeale to the conſcience of any wiſe & indifferent man, whether that the *Commune incendium*, the common fire, or calamitie in our neighbour Nation of *Ireland*, clothed with theſe three circumſtances, as I ſhall ſet it

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forth, will not cauſe, and juſtly too, a wiſe man to feare, and doubt, what the event will be.

As firſt, that they are our Neighbours, and when my Neighbours houſe is on fire: will any man adjudge this to be a phantaſme or an effeminate feare in me, to provide for the ſecuring of my perſon and eſtate, from periſhing in the common ruine?

Secondly, It is Religion, that theſe cruell, barbarous, and unheard of Tyrants, make for a ground of their horrid Rebellion: and what ſtronger ingagement can there be, then this, for to incourage and ſpurre men forward, in any deſperate deſigne? Eſpecially, thoſe of the Popiſh faction, who may have a pardon before-hand, for the act they ſhall commit, be it never ſo deſperate: And doe we not thinke, that this will be a ſtrong incitement to men, who conceive themſelves tyed in conſcience to undertake that which they doe, to wade through any miſery, for the accompliſhment of their deſired end, knowing before-hand, that they have a pardon for the moſt horrid act or attempt that they can doe, conducing to the perfecting of the ſame? And then as this obligeth all Nations beſides, of the Popiſh partie, ought not we to thinke, and beleeve, that ſuch an opportunitie, muſt of neceſſitie, ſtimulate them forward, to be ayding and aſſiſting to ſuch a deſigne, which will infallibly at the laſt, merit either Heaven or Hell? I am confident (and it ſtands with all reaſon that it ſhould be ſo, for that they have not for a long time, prayſed be God, had the like opportunitie) that the Pope, with all his adherents, are now plotting, and contriving, with their holy Father the Devill, to operate the ruine of the Proteſtant Religion: and ſhall this ingage them to fight againſt God, under a pretence of being on his ſide? And ſhall it not invite us, who fight for God, and his truth, which we have ſo long time, happily & peaceably through Gods goodneſſe enjoyed, to prepare our ſelves, and all that we have, for the defence of the ſame? To conclude this, we who have the greateſt part of the world our enemies, may juſtly feare, that they are now plotting and contriving that for *England*, that is already acted in *Ireland*. And let us not ſay, that they are at enmitie one with another, and therefore, are not at leiſure, to harme us: for we may be ſure, that they will ſhake hands, to doe us a miſchiefe: according to that in holy Writ, of *Pilate* and *Herod*, who though they were utter enemies one to another, yet they were made friends, to combine againſt Chriſt.

Luke 23. 12.

Thirdly, and laſtly, who is able to ſay, that either he, or his children, ſhall live to ſee an end of that bloudy perſecution and rebellion, and what the ſucceſſe of it will be? True it is, that God hath hitherto gone forth with our Armies, and hath in an exceeding meaſure, and above all expectation, bleſſed their endeavours, and crowned their actions with

a happie ſucceſſe, God be praiſed for it, but yet who knoweth, whether they ſhall ever be able to root out this rebellious Tribe? I ſpeak not this out of any diffidence of Gods continued favour and goodneſſe towards us, or to make others miſtruſt; but onely to demonſtrate, that there is a juſt cauſe of feare; for who can divine what the event of warre will be: *Exitus belli incertus*, that is, the iſſue of warre is uncertain. Beſides (and which brings me to my ſecond ground of our juſt and dreadfull feares) if the diſtractions of this Kingdome continue, which God defend, what ayde can they expect from us, who are like to be ſurrounded with the like miſery: ſo that their neceſſitie, may cutt them ſhort of their hopes, and by this much adde to our feares.

Secondly, having ſhewed our juſt cauſe of fear, which riſeth *ab extra*, from our deplorable brethren, and neighbours; now I ſhall ſhew, our cauſe of fear, that ariſeth *ab intra*: from the unhappy diſtractions, which are riſen amongſt our ſelves. Who is it, that doth not ſee, the ſad diviſions and generall ſidings throughout the Realm? which hath grown upon this unhappy diviſion of the King and Parliament; which when it will be reconciled, God knoweth. And if this (which adds much to our miſerie) had not happened, we could not before have been ſecure, without a juſt cauſe of fear: for what divelliſh plots, and fearfull deſignes, have been diſcovered through Gods mercy, and the vigilant eye of the Parliament; tending to the deſtruction of our beſt birth-right and inheritance, the priviledges and freedome of Parliaments? Without the continuance of which, that which is neareſt and deareſt unto thee, whether it be thy Religion, life, or liberty; what ever it be, that thou moſt bleſſeſt thy ſelf withall, will then depend upon the Arbitrary will of thy Soveraign; ſo that thou mayeſt not then, ſtile ought that God hath given thee, thy own: which heavy judgement I beſeech God to divert from this ſinfull Land and Nation; for we may truly acknowledge, that it were juſt upon us, that we who have ſo much abuſed Gods bleſſings, ſhould now be deprived of them: and that we, who have ſo much abuſed the freedome of conſcience, of our laws, lives, liberties, and eſtates, ſhould now be ſubjected to a perpetuall ſlavery. Now to conclude this likewiſe, divide the Kingdom into foure parts, and I am confident, that the Papiſt, Newter, and Cavalier (I might adde likewiſe the domineering proud Clergy, who would fain reduce all things to their late condition) who lie perdue, and wait for an opportunitie, for to bring a ſpeedie deſtruction upon this Common-wealth, will make two parts, I think I might, without any imputation, or prejudice to judgement, ſay three parts of the foure, and now put all theſe things together, and I beleeve, that no indifferent underſtanding man, but will be forced to confeſſe, that there was, and ſtill is, a juſt cauſe of fear, and of

putting of the Kingdom, into a poſture of warre. And then the imminent danger being pregnant, and demonſtrable to all the world: the laſt queſtion is taken away.

But admitting that it were not proſpicuous, and viſible to all, then the queſtion is, who is the proper Judge of this imminent danger, and I conceive plainly, under favour, that the Parliament ought to be, and no other: and my firſt reaſon is grounded upon the rule of Law, *viz.* that the Parliament can do no wrong, which is warranted by the 9. *Rep.* the 6. *Rep.* and many other books. And in *Pl. Com.* it is ſaid, that the Parliament is a Court of thrice great honour and juſtice, of which none ought to imagine a diſhonourable thing. And this I conceive to be grounded upon the Writ of Summons to Parliament, which wils, that the elections ſhould be *De gravioribus & diſcretioribus viris, &c.* of the moſt grave and diſcreet men. And *Forteſcue* ſpeaking of the Parliament, ſaith, We ought neceſſarily to think, that the Statutes of this Realm are made with great wiſdom and prudence, *Dum non unius aut centum ſolum conſultiorum virorum, ſed plus quam trecentorum electorum hominum, quali numero olim Senatus Romanorum regebatur, ipſa ſunt edita.* For that they are not made by one, or an hundred onely of ſage judicious men, but by more then three hundred of choſen men: by ſuch a number, as in times paſt, the Senate of *Rome* was uſed to be ruled.

. *Rep.* 106. b.
07. a.
. *Rep.* 27. b.
. a.
l. Com. fo. 398
orteſ. ca. 18.

bject. But here it will be objected, that this Ordinance is not ſetled by Parliament, for that the King and many of his Nobles, were not there, nor never conſented to it; and therefore that we ought not to eſteeme, or account, ſome few Sciſmaticall and factious perſons (who ſeek their own ends, and not the common good) to be the Parliament: and therefore you miſtake in giving of them the Style of the Parliament.

Anſw. A ſtrange, unheard of, and illegall objection, a pretty trick and wilde to maſk illegall ſlanders, under illegall objections. It is a wonder to hear ſuch ſtrange, and as unparalelld, as unwarrantable, invectives, againſt the Parliament, which are publiſhed in the Kings name, and under his protection, and patronage: while in the mean time, the King (whoſe diſtance of place, or affection, cannot divide from his Parliament, as I ſhall afterwards ſhew) ſuffers in thoſe very obloquies, and diſhonourable detractions, which are coyned for his honorable Aſſembly of Parliament.

yer fo. 60. a. For, as all our books agree, the Parliament is as one body: and the chief or head of this body, is the King: and with this agreeth, *Dyer, fo.* 60. *a.* who ſaith, that the Eſtate of Parliament conſiſts of three parts: *viz.* of the King, as the chief Head; and of the Lords, the chief and principall Members of the Body; and of the Commons, Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, the inferiour Members: and theſe make the body of the

Parliament. Now if it be thus, that the King, Lords and Commons make but one body, and that the King is the Head of this body, as in truth the Law is: then it will thus in reaſon follow, that no more then you can divide the head from the naturall body, and yet preſerve the body alive, can you divide the King from the Parliament, and yet have the Parliament continue, as in truth it doth: and I hope that there is none ſo void of reaſon, as to think, that the Kings dividing of himſelf from his Parliament, (for the caſe is utterly miſtaken, to ſay that the Parliament, ſevers the King from them) ſhall deſtroy his Parliament, though I ſuppoſe, that many, who dare not bring their actions to the teſte, would have it ſo.

Now if it be ſo, that, notwithſtanding this unhappy diviſion, the Parliament doth vertually, and actually continue, (which, God defend it ſhould be otherwiſe, for then Parliament, and no Parliament would be all one) then, of neceſſity, it muſt follow, that the King, who is the head of this great body, is not divided in Law, though he be in diſtance, for if ſo it muſt needs be, that the body would be deſtroyed, for that a Body (as I have ſaid before) cannot ſubſiſt without a Head. And it muſt likewiſe follow, that they uſurp no honour or power to themſelves, more then by the Law is due, to ſtile themſelves the Parliament. And therefore whatſoever imputations, or diſhonourable invectives (things too common in the mouthes of many, who have not common reaſon, much leſſe Law, to diſcover a truth) are impoſed and caſt upon the two Houſes of Parliament, reflect upon the honour of the King, and are a great ſtain and blemiſh to it.

Then if it be thus, that the Parliament, in judgement of Law, can do no wrong, and that no diſhonorable thing ought to be imagined of them; certainly, they are the moſt proper Judges of this imminent danger. But to this it will be objected that the King likewiſe, in judgement of Law, can do no wrong, and therefore he notwithſtanding this reaſon, may be as proper a Judge of the imminent danger, as any one, and upon this ground his judgement ought rather to be received then the judgement of any, yea of the Parliament it ſelf; & he tels us, that there is no imminent danger, what then meanes this great contention about the *Militia*? To this I anſwer, that it is true, the rule of Law likewiſe is, *That the King can do no wrong*; but the reaſon of this is, for that it is preſumed, that what the King doth, he doth upon the advice, & ſeducement of evill Counſellors, who with a ſpetious ſhew, pretend nothing more then the good of the Common-wealth; whereas, in truth, they intend nothing leſſe. And hath it not been frequent, for Kings, ſeduced by wicked and malignant Counſellors, to do thoſe things which have been a diſhonour to themſelves, and a great *gravamen* and prejudice to

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the publique: and if ſo, my concluſion is, that I would as willing a man ſhould doe me injury, upon his owne principles, as by the advice of others; for though happily the wrong may not be ſo great, as to himſelfe, yet the damage is all one to me. But now on the other ſide, who can tell, or what Story is able to relate, that ever a Parliament did doe that thing, that was prejudiciall to the Common-wealth? Why then if this poſition hold true, *That Kings ſeduced, may injure the Common-wealth, but that Parliaments cannot*: I conclude, notwithſtanding this objection, that the Parliament, for this reaſon, are the moſt proper Judges of this imminent danger.

Againe, they are the moſt proper Judges of an imminent danger, who in probabilitie may have the beſt cogniſance, and information of it: but the Parliament (which is the repreſentative body of the whole Realme, and the eyes of all the Kingdome) muſt of neceſſitie have the beſt cogniſance and information of any imminent and approaching danger: *Ergo*, they are the beſt and moſt competent Judges of it.

Laſt of all, the Parliament are the moſt proper Judges of an imminent danger; for that they are thoſe, whom the Common-wealth hath intruſted with its future happineſſe, they are our Judges, thoſe whoſe judgement we have bound our ſelves by our owne free Election, to ſtand to, and therefore we cannot now recede from it, or ſee with other eyes then they ſee; if they ſay, that they ſee an imminent and approaching danger, we ought not to ſay, that there is no ſuch matter; and if they ſay, that the *Militia* is well and legally ſettled, we cannot, nor ought not to ſay, that it is againſt the Law; for that our judgement is bound up in, and ſuperſeded by theirs. But to this it will be ſaid, that this were a kinde of implicite faith, or if I may ſo ſpeake, a kinde of Hereſie in Law; for a man to be tide to ſubſcribe to other mens judgements, and to beleeve that whatſoever they doe, is lawfull: To this I anſwer ſhortly, that there is a great difference, between a ſubſcription of compulſion, and a ſubſcription of conſent; for *volenti non fit injuria*, that is, he that cõſents to the doing of a thing, is not injured by the thing done. Againe, the Parliament would not have us to pinne our faith upon their judgements, to beleeve without reaſon; for, as it is well knowne, they have publiſhed the juſtice and integritie of their cauſe, to the whole world, and have left their proceedings to the judgement and determination of every private conſcience, ſo that cleerely this objection holds not.

Then if the judgement of Parliament, be our judgement; what elſe doe they then oppoſe their own judgement, who dare oppoſe the judgement of Parliament, which is folly? and what elſe doe they but preferre their proper and private judgement, before the judgement of the whole Parliament?

ſament? which is an extreame inſolency; for that they repreſent the whole Kingdome: and are the moſt worthy part of it, and for that, we have, as I have ſaid before, bound our ſelves by our owne conſent and election, to ſtand to their judgement and determination. Wherefore, for all theſe preceding reaſons, I conclude this point, that admitting the imminent danger were not perſpicuous and manifeſt to every eye, that the Parliament as they are the moſt proper Judges, ſo they ought to be the onely Judges of it, and no other perſon whatſoever.

Now for the Objection, that many of the Lords and Commons, did never conſent to the Ordinance of Parliament, for that they were with his Majeſtie, and that therefore this ſhould make their determination invalid, and ineffectuall: This is a more ſtrange objection then the other, for that it is againſt the rule of Law, that any man ſhould take advantage of his owne wrong; and it is cleare, that after the Parliament is once begunne, their perſonall attendance is ſo neceſſary, and of ſuch importance to the Parliament, that they ought not by the Law, for any buſineſſe whatſoever, to be abſent, and ſo is *Dyer*. And by the Stat. of 6. *H.* 8. it is enacted, that no Knight, Citizen, or Burges, abſent himſelfe, without licence of the *Speaker* and Commons, under the paine of the loſſe of their wages. And in 3. *E.* 2. *Fitz: Corone* 61. cited in *Crompton Jur.* the Biſhop of *Winton* was arraigned in the Kings Bench, for that he came to the Parliament, and departed without licence. Why then is it ſo, that their withdrawing of themſelves, is a crime in them? Shall they then take advantage of this offence and neglect of theirs, of the Weale publique; for the good of which, they were called and aſſembled together, to aviſe? certainly not. Beſides, if this objection might hold, who is it that doth not ſee, what the inconvenience might be, *Et argumentum ab inconvenienti eſt bonum in lege*, an argument drawne from inconvenience, is good in Law. For by this invention, the concluſions and determinations of thoſe who are preſent, intending the Weale publique, (as in dutie they are bound) ſhould be all fruſtrated, and annihilated, by the abſence of thoſe, who voluntarily and againſt Law, withdraw themſelves; which would be deſtructive to all Parliaments.

Dyer. fo. 6
6. H. 8. ca.
3. E. 2. Fit
Corone 61
Crompt. Iu
Courts. fo.

For *poſito* that all the Lords or all the Commons, ſhould voluntarily and out of an indiſpoſedneſſe to the common good, withdraw themſelves, and utterly refuſe to performe that truſt, which is repoſed in them, of counſelling and conſenting to ſuch Lawes, which might eſtabliſh peace, and a ſettled condition in Church and State: will any man thinke, that if in this time of diſſertion of the Lords or Commons, there be an apparent & imminent danger, threatning ruine to the Commonwealth, if it be not in an opportune and ſeaſonable time prevented, that in this caſe, it lies not in the power of the King and Lords, or of the

King & Commons onely, as the case is, by way of Ordinance, to settle the Kingdom in such a state and temper, as may prevent any approaching misery? Without question it doth, or otherwise this conclusion (as I have said before) would be destructive to all Parliaments.

I agree, that an Act of Parliament cannot be made, by which a new Law should be enacted, that should be obligatory to the Subject for ever, (I meane untill it were repealed by another Act) but by the consent of the King, Lords, and Commons; and with this accords the Books, 4. *H.* 7 there an Act was made by the King and Lords, but nothing was spoken of the Commons; and by all the Judges, this is no act of Parliament. 7 *H.* 7. No Statute except that the Lords and Commons assent to it. And 11. *H.* 7 it is no act of Parliament, except it be made by the King Lords, and Commons. By this it is manifest, that all the three Estates ought to joyne in the making of an act of Parliament: and this is so cleare, that I need not cite any other authoritie in proofe of it, for our Books are plentifull in this point. Onely I shall remember one remarkable case, which I finde in our Law, to prove that the Books which say, *That an Act of Parliament cannot be made, without the consent of the Lords*, that this ought to be intended of the Lords Temporall onely, and not of the Lords Spirituall: and therefore it is resolved by the Judges in 7. *H.* 8. *Keilway.* that the King may well hold his Parliament, by him, his Temporall Lords & Commons, without the Spirituall Lords: so that by this it was manifest, that they were not essentially necessary to a Parliament; for that the King might have holden a Parliament without them: and therefore it is not now so much to be wondred at, that they are totally excluded by Act of Parliament.

H. 7. 18.

H. 7. 14.

H. 7. 27.

H. 8. *Keilway*, fo. 184. b.

But now on the other side, I conceive as clearely, under favour, that if the King do utterly forsake them, and decline their advice and counsell, to which he ought to adhere during Parliament, that in such case they may (as I have said before) make such Ordinances, without him, for the securing of the Kingdome, in case of exigency and extremitie, as shall be obligatory to all the Realme, pending Parliament: for otherwise, they should have the name of a Parliament onely, & not the power and vertue of it.

But now it may be objected, that the King by his Prerogative, may call a Parliament when he pleaseth, and also adjourne and dissolve it when he pleaseth: and that the power given by the Writ of Summons, of the Lords to Parliament, is onely *ad tractandum & consulendum, &c.* and therefore it will be concluded, that by the same power the King may command his Counsellors whither he pleaseth. To this I answer, and agree, that the King may call or dissolve a Parliament when he pleaseth, and so totally toll their power; but yet under favour, pending

Parliament

Parliament, unadjourned, the King can neither retarde their proceedings, nor take away their persons: and that I shall prove thus: the King, as *fons Justitiæ*, the fountaine of Justice, from whom all Judiciary power is derived, may likewise make, whom he pleaseth, to be a Judge, to dispence the Lawes in justice and equitie unto his people; but will it therefore follow, that when he hath made such and such to be his Judges, that he may either retarde their proceedings, or countermand their judgements, under favour, nothing lesse. Againe, as I have shewed before, they are punishable by the Law, for withdrawing of themselves: and it were hard, that the King should have power to command me that act, which being done, subjects me to a severe punishment. Now for that part of the objection, that they are but his Counsellors, and not his Judges: to that I shall give, as I hope, a full and satisfactory answer afterwards.

And now I shall conclude this first ground or reason, with another answer to the objection, against the imminent danger, and this I ground upon the words in the Kings Writ, by which he summons the Lords to Parliament; in the body of which Writ he saith, *Mandamus quod consideratis dictorum negotiorum arduitate & periculis imminentibus, cessante excusatione quacunque, dictis die & loco personaliter interfitis nobiscum, &c.* that is, we command you, that considering the greatnesse of the businesse, and the imminent dangers, laying aside all excuse, you be personally with us, the said day and place, &c. Here the King by his Writ saith expressely, that at the time of the calling of this Parliament, there was an imminent danger; and as now it should be dishonourable for the King to contradict himselfe, so I doe not conceive, that he shall be received to deny that extrajudicially, which he hath confessed by his Writ judicially.

But to this it will be said, that the Writ, *Est breve formatum*, that is, it is a formed Writ, or a Writ of course, and that there is no other, and that from this there is no varying; so that be the occasion of calling of the Parliament, what it will, the same form ought to be pursued, and no other; and therefore it is no concluding reason, that there is an imminent danger, because the Writ saith so. To this I answer, that we ought not to presume, that the King will speak any thing in a judiciall way, as here he doth, which should be vain and superfluous; besides, if you consider the time in which this Parliament was called, when that the Scottish Army was in *England*, and at which time such distractions, and rumours of warres, did I say rumours of warres? I might have said Warre it self, was amongst us: when that the extreme insolencie and pride of the Clergie, together with the darknesse of superstition and Popery, had almost overwhelmed this Nation with imminent destruction

ction and misery: the fear of which doth yet cloud the face of the poore Commonalty, I say, these things considered, we may justly conclude, that the King, at that time, spake as he intended, and therefore certainly now, he shall not be received to contradict it. Wherefore I conclude this first reason, that by reason of the imminent danger which threatens the Common-wealth, the King refusing to settle the *Militia*, the Parliament may well do it.

2 Secondly, I hold that the Parliament may do it; for that the King by his refusall hath made a breach of that trust that is committed to him, by God, and his people, that there is a trust committed to him, and that the greatest also, that any one under God can have, I have in part demonstrated it before; for I have shewn how that he is bound by the Law to defend and protect his people, their lives, liberties, and estates, from any forrein or domestick danger; and saith *Forteſcue, ca.* 13. cited be-
Forteſc. ca. 13. fore, *Rex ad tutelem legis, corporum, & bonorum, erectus eſt*: he is erected King, for this purpose, and intent, to defend the Law, the bodies and goods of his Subjects. And he saith himself (as I have likewise shewed before) in the Commission directed to Commissioners of Sewers, that by reason of his royall dignity, *Aſtrictus eſt ad providendum ſalvationi regni ſui*; He is bound to secure his kingdom. And this he is bound to do by the Law, and Justice: for he ought to rule according to Law, and for this purpose he is intrusted with the Law also: and therefore in 8.
8. fo. 2. 2. *H.* 7. it is said, that the King is conservator of the Law, the which is the Common-weal. As if it had been said, the Common-weal, depends upon the Kings well keeping, and observing, of the Law. And in many
Bract. fo. 55. b. places of *Bracton*, amongst which, this is one: *fo.* 55. b. he saith, *Sciendum quod ipſe Dominus Rex, ordinariam habet juriſdictionem, & dignitatem, & poteſtatem, ſuper omnes, qui in regno ſuo ſunt, habet enim omnia jura in manu ſua quæ ad Coronam, & laicam pertinent poteſtatem, & materialem gladium, qui pertinet ad regni gubernaculum, habet etiam juſtitiam & judicium, quæ ſunt juriſdictiones, ut ex juriſdictione ſua, ſicut Dei Miniſter, tribuat unicuique quod ſuum fuerit*: that is, we must know, that the King hath ordinary jurisdiction, and dignitie, and power, above all which are in his kingdom; for he hath all the Laws in his hand, which do pertain to the Crown, and lay power; and the materiall sword, which belongeth to the government of his kingdom; he hath also justice, and judgements, which are jurisdictions, that by his jurisdiction, as Gods Minister, he may give to every one, that which is his own. Here you may see, that the King is intrusted, with the Laws, and Justice, as also with the materiall Sword, to this end, that he may defend his people committed to his charge, as well by force, if occasion be, as by righteous judgement. And to this also he is bound by his Oath, as I have

ſaid before, which I find in *Bracton*, *fo.* 107. by which he ſweareth that *In omnibus iudiciis æquitatem præcipiet, &c. ut per Juſtitiam ſuam firma gaudent pace univerſi*: that is, that he will uſe equitie in all his judgements, that all men may injoy a firm peace, by his juſtice. And there he further ſaith, that *ad hoc creatus eſt & electus, ut juſtitiam faciat univerſis, &c. & quod juſtè judicaverit, ſuſtineat, & defendet, &c.* He is created, and elected King, for this purpoſe, and intent, to do juſtice to all men, and that he ſhould judge juſtly, ſuſtain and defend them. And with this accords 6. *H.* 7. where it is ſaid, that the King is bound for to do right to parties. And as he ought to rule according to Law, ſo he himſelf, ought to be governed by the Law, as I have ſhewed before. And as *Bracton* ſaith, *fol.* 5. b. *Ipſe autem Rex, non debet eſſe ſub homine, ſed ſub Deo, & ſub Lege, quia Lex facit Legem:* The King ought not to be under man, but under God, and the Law. Now I conceive that it is manifeſt, that the King is intruſted with the Laws, lives, liberties, and eſtates of his Subjects, all which he of right ought to defend in peace and tranquillity, as he alſo by his Oath is bound; and therefore *Bracton* ſaith, *Eſt Corona Regis facere juſtitiam, & judicium, & tenere pacem, ſine quibus corona conſiſtere non poteſt nec tenere:* It is the Crown of the King to do juſtice, and judgement, and to maintain peace; without which, his Crown cannot ſtand and continue: as if he had ſaid, it is ſo eſſentiall to the King to do juſtice and judgement; and to maintain peace, that you deſtroy the Crown, if you take away theſe.

Bract. fo. 107 a. ca. 9.

6. *H.* 7. 16.

Bract. fo. 5. b.

Bract. fo. 55.

Now I ſhall prove, that the King hath made a breach of this great truſt committed to him, foure wayes. Firſt, by denying of his Protection to his people. Secondly, by not ſupporting of the Laws, and the Priviledges of Parliament. Thirdly, by not endeavouring to maintain peace amongſt his people. And fourthly and laſtly, by denying of Juſtice; and in all theſe particulars I ſhall prove, that the King hath broken the truſt committed to him.

And firſt, he hath broken the truſt committed to him by denying of his protection, and this he hath done three wayes. 1. By denying of his legall protection, that is, in not protecting of his people according to Law: and this he hath done, by denying to ſettle the *Militia*, by the adviſe of his great Counſell, according to Law: by whom onely, during Parliament, he ought to be adviſed, for during the continuance of this great Counſell, all inferiour Counſels ought to ceaſe: and therefore the Counſell of others neither can, nor ought to countermand theirs: but of this I ſhall ſpeak more fully afterwards. 2. The King hath denied his Royall protection to his people, in taking up of Arms againſt his Parliament, who is the repreſentative Body of the whole Kingdom: and this is the moſt ſtrong refuſall of his protection, of all

others, for by this he doth not refuse onely to protect them, but he goes about to destroy them, whom, by the Law, and his Oath, he is bound to preserve and defend. And thirdly and lastly, he hath denied his royall protection to his people in this, that in time of imminent danger to the Kingdom, he hath denied to settle the *Militia*; and he that denies the means, denies the end. For it is a rule with us in our Law, that *Qui tollit medium, tollit quoque finem*: He that takes away the means, takes away the end. And it is all one in effect, to deny a thing, as to deny the means *per quod pervenitur ad illud*: by which you may come to the thing. Now it is clear, that the sole means, under God, to defend this kingdom, in time of imminent danger, from its enemies, either forrain or domestick, is, by settling of the *Militia*, and by putting of the Forts, and Magazine of the kingdom, into faithfull and true hands, such as may be confided in, being a matter of so great consequence, and of so high importance to the whole Common-weal. Now the King refusing to do this, doth he not in effect, deny his protection to his people? for denying of the means, it is all one as if he had denied the end: so that I conceive, for these reasons, the King hath denied to protect his people, as by the Law he is bound, and therefore hath made a breach of the trust that is reposed in him.

2. Secondly, I conceive, that the King hath broken this great trust, in not supporting of the Laws, and the priviledges of Parliament; that he hath not maintained the Law appeareth plainly, by that, that I have said before, for that he hath refused to be ruled by it, as he ought: for though that he is not *sub homine*, under man; yet he is *sub Lege*, under the Law, as I have shewed before, and therefore ought to be governed by it. And what is this but a refusing to be ruled by Law, when he refuseth upon the prayer of his Parliament to settle the *Militia* for the defence of his Kingdom, and people, according to Law? And that the King hath broken the Priviledges of Parliament, what more plain? I might instance in many things, but I shall instance in onely one or two: And here I appeal to all the world, whether his withdrawing of himself from his Parliament; and not onely so, but his endeavouring, by his many detractions and imputations laid upon his Parliament, to withdraw all the hearts of his people from them likewise: and, which is yet worse, his supporting and maintaining of such men, and keeping of them from justice and their condigne punishment, who are Delinquents in a high nature, against his Parliament: I say, that I appeal to all the world, whether these be not great breaches of the Priviledges of Parliament? and what greater breach of the priviledges of Parliament can there be? then to protect and defend them, without any colour of Law, or justice, who indeavour nothing, but the ruine of Parliament, and in

this

this, of our Laws, lives, and liberties: ſo I conceive, that this alſo is a breach of that great truſt which is repoſed in his Majeſtie, by God, his people, and the Laws of the Land.

Thirdly, I conceive that the King hath infringed this great truſt, by not indeavouring to maintaine peace: and this two wayes, by his commiſſion, and omiſſion; by his commiſſion, in taking up of Armes againſt his people, as I have ſaid before, and then by his omiſſion, and not onely ſo, but by an abſolute refuſall, in this time of imminent danger, to ſettle the Kingdome in a poſture of defence, the ſole meanes, under God, as I have ſaid, to maintaine peace and tranquillitie amongſt us: and this is againſt his Oath alſo, which the King himſelfe was pleaſed of late to publiſh to his people: which I finde likewiſe expreſſely in *Bracton*, that the King firſt ſweareth, *Se eſſe præcepturum, & pro viribus operam impenſurum ut Eccleſiæ Dei & omni populo Chriſtiano, vera pax, omni ſuo tempore, obſervetur*, that is, that he will indeavour to the utmoſt of his power, that true peace may be kept & obſerved, to the Church of God, and to all Chriſtian people, all his dayes. 3. *Bract. fo. 107.*

Fourthly, and laſtly, I conceive that the King hath broken his truſt, by denying of juſtice: and this he hath done two wayes; firſt, by denying to ſurrender up Delinquents to the Juſtice of the Law: and ſecondly, by denying to ſettle the *Militia*, by and according to the adviſe of his great Counſell the Parliament. Now that the King is obliged to doe Juſtice, it is without queſtion, for his very Oath (as I have ſhewed before) ties him expreſſely to it, and ſo is 6. *H.* 7. cited before, and *Bracton, fo.* 107. *a.* where he ſaith, that *Ad hoc creatus eſt & electus ut juſtitiam faciat univerſis, &c.* He is created and elected King, for this purpoſe and intent, that he may doe juſtice to all men. And what greater act of Juſtice can there be, then for the King to defend his people in peace? or what greater act of Juſtice can there be, then for the King, at the requeſt of his people, repreſented by the body of Parliament, to enact ſuch Lawes, which conduce to the maintaining of peace? Certainly none. And this *Bracton* ſeemeth to intimate, *Sinon eſſet qui juſtitiam faceret, pax de facili poteſt exterminari, &c.* If there were not one who would doe Juſtice, peace might eaſily be extirminated. Here note, that he doth not ſay, that our lives, Lawes, Liberties, or Eſtates, for want of Juſtice might eaſily be extirminated; but our peace, by this, as it were, concentering all Juſtice in this act of maintaining peace: and without queſtion, all our happineſſe, under God, conſiſts in the ſupporting and maintaining of peace: for, take that away, and all things fall to utter ruine and deſtruction. And certainly, if it be thus, that the greateſt act of Juſtice in the King that can be, conſiſts in maintaining of peace, and ingranting of ſuch Lawes, which conduce unto this end, without queſtion, 4. *Bracton fo.* 10 *Bracton. fo.* 10



ſtion the denying of this by the King, muſt needs be the greateſt act of injuſtice in the King that can be, and by conſequence, a breach of that truſt, that is repoſed in his Majeſtie. And therefore I doe conceive, that at the leaſt in this, the King can have no negative voyce: and I doe not conceive, that the King can have any negative voyce in Parliament, in other things; for if the King, by his Oath, and the Law of the Land, be obliged to doe Juſtice, (as in truth he is) and if it be as great an act of Juſtice in the King, as can be, not onely juſtly to diſpence the Lawes in *eſſe*, in being, to his people; but alſo to grant ſuch new Lawes unto them as conduce to the well governing of them, in peace and happineſſe. Why then certainly it muſt of neceſſitie follow, that the King can have no negative voyce; but is bound under this heavie ſinne, of the breach of his Oath, and the Lawes of the Land, to grant ſuch Lawes as are requeſted of him by his people.

But here it may be objected, that the King had this Prerogative by the Law, that he might have called a Parliament when he pleaſed, and there was no poſitive Law to the contrary, before this Parliament, in which the King hath deveſted himſelfe of this power; and if before at the requeſt of his people, he had not been pleaſed to grant them a Parliament, why, this in effect, was a denier of Juſtice, for that the King denied the meanes by which it might be obteined, and yet this was lawfull for him to doe; therefore it will be concluded, that by the ſame reaſon he may have a negative voyce in Parliament. And *Cromp. Jur.* of *Courts* ſaith expreſſely, that when the King doth aſſent to a Bill, then he writes upon the Bill, *L'Roy veult*, that is, the King will have it ſo; and if he doth not aſſent, then it is indorſed *L'Roy adviſera*, that the King will adviſe; here it doth appeare how the King hath a negative voyce allowed him by the Law. To this I anſwer, and agree, theſe Prerogatives *de facto* to be in the King, but whether in truth, they be ſuch as are compatible, and may ſtand with the Oath and Juſtice of the King: this may be queſtionable, and under favour, I conceive that they cannot; for that, as I have ſhewed, his Oath and the Lawes of the Land, ties his Majeſtie to doe Juſtice to his people, and the granting of new Laws unto them, upon their requeſt, is an Act of Juſtice, and therefore he cannot denie them without breach of his Oath, and the Lawes of the Land; and by conſequence, theſe prerogatives are not compatible, with the Oath and Juſtice of the King; and though peradventure the Law may diſpence with it ſelfe, yet it cannot with the Oath of the King. Wherefore I conceive, notwithſtanding this objection, that the King can have no negative voyce: but of this onely by the way.

Cro. Jur. fo. 7. b.

And is it thus, that the King hath made a breach of that truſt repoſed in him, by God and his people? as in truth, I have cleered it unto you:

then none ſo proper to ſupply this defect, in his Majeſtie, by the diſpoſing of the *Militia*, for the defence and protection of the King & Kingdome, as the Parliament, who are at this time entruſted, under God, not onely with our *eſſe*, with our being, but with our *bene eſſe*, with our well-being alſo.

But here it may be objected, that the King derives his Crowne and regall power from God, and that therefore he is reſponſible to God alone for his actions, and not to man: To this I anſwer, that it is a moſt ſtrange Epiſcopall and illegall objection; for what is this but the attributing of a power to the King above Law? and the giving of him ſuch a prerogative that ſhould not be ſubject to thoſe Conſtitutions, which his predeceſſors before him had been, and though it ſhould be admitted, that as all power is derived originally from God, ſo eſpecially this; yet it doth not follow, that it was therefore conferred by an extraordinary and immediate hand of God, as it was upon *Saul* and *David*, yet they likewiſe were confirmed and approved by the people, as you may reade in holy Writ. Beſides, *Saul* and *David*, lived not under any Municipall or poſitive Conſtitutions of men, which they were bound to maintaine and obſerve, as the King of *England* doth, and therefore it muſt needs be, that their power muſt be more abſolute, which was not circumſcribed within the bounds and limits of any humane Lawes. But now the Kings of *England* having ſubjected themſelves to the Law of the Land, and received their Crownes with that truſt and tacite condition, of defending of the Lawes, lives, and liberties of their Subjects: the Law were idle and vaine, if there ſhould be none that ſhould have this power, for the breach of this truſt by his Majeſtie, to interpoſe for the ſecuring of him, his Lawes, and people. And if this divine prerogative, which the Biſhops doe ſo buzze into the Kings eares, ſhould be admitted, I would faine know what difference would be made, betwixt an abſolute Monarke, and the King of *England*: and cleerely this was never reputed for other, nor can be (the Crowne being ſubject to the Law as well as the people) then a mixt Monarchy: but I ſhall conclude this, that they who ſo much defend and exalt this divine prerogative, would in the concluſion (if they might have their way) upon the ſame ground, advance the Miter above the Crowne. God open the Kings eyes, that he may ſee and acknowledge himſelfe ſubject to the Lawes, and may rule his people accordingly: and grant that he may deteſt ſuch advice, as dangerous to the State, and the ſuggeſters of it, as Peſts and Traytors to the ſame.

1 *Sam.* 9. & 24.

But it may be againe objected, that this was a conquered Nation, & therefore by the Law of Conqueſt, the Conquerour might have made what alterations in the Law, or State, he pleaſed; but he retaining the

Law, and ſubjecting himſelfe to it (who might have advanced himſelfe above it) will it therefore follow, that in ſo doing, he hath ſubjected himſelfe to his people likewiſe ? if he tranſgreſſe it, *Deum habet ultorem*, God will revenge it, but it was never his intent to give his people that power.

To this I anſwer, that retaining of the Law, and ſubjecting of himſelfe unto it, he is bound by it, and all his Succeſſours after him ; and it were in vaine (as I have touched it before) to eſtabliſh a Law, and to give none power to put it in execution : Wherefore I conceive, that that Law that bindes the King, will for the breach of the ſame, authoriſe his Parliament, though not to inflict any penalty upon his ſacred perſon, God forbid, yet to provide for the ſecuring of him and his Kingdome ; for otherwiſe (as the ſad conſequence of it would make it good) it would be, in effect, but as a dead Letter.

But now further it may be objected ; Shall they have ſuch an arbitrary way of power, as this is, to doe any thing by way of Ordinance, without the King ? If this may be ſuffered, they may Metamorphiſe and change the Law, into what ſhape they pleaſe, or which beſt agrees with their humours : ſo that if they order, that land ſhall from henceforth diſcend to the youngeſt ſonne, contrary to the courſe of common Law, (as I thinke the caſe was put) if this ordinance ſhould binde the Subject, he ſhould here at once be deprived of a double birth-right and inheritance, *viz.* of his land as heire, and of the Law as a Subject; which would be very hard and unreaſonable.

For that part of the objection, of their arbitrary way of proceeding, I ſhall in part here anſwer it ; but more fully afterwards : for the objection, that they cannot doe it by way of Ordinance, without the King : To this I anſwer, that in caſe of imminent danger (as now) the Kingdome muſt needs periſh, if they ſhould not have this power, for they have no other way to ayde the Kingdome in time of imminent danger, by ſetling the *Militia* of it, but by way of Act, or Ordinance, and if the King refuſe, by their advice, to ſettle it, by way of act (as in truth he doth now) then we muſt of neceſſitie, allow a power in the Parliament, *Ne pereat regnum*, leaſt that the Kingdome periſh, by way of Ordinance to ſettle the *Militia*, for the defence of the ſame ; for otherwiſe, the King ſhould have power, when he pleaſeth, to deſtroy his Kingdome, and the people ſhould be left naked of any abilitie, to preſerve and defend themſelves ; which were very unreaſonable, and unnaturall ; for nature it ſelfe, hath not onely eſtabliſhed it as a Law, that all creatures may defend themſelves from unnaturall violence, but hath armed them accordingly.

And now I ſhall prove, that as the Parliament are the moſt proper

and onely power, to provide for the securing of the Kingdom: and as they have no other way to do it: so they are obliged to take this way: and this they are tied to by their Oaths of Allegiance, Supremacy, and their late Protestation; for by these they have all sworn, vowed, and protested, to defend the King, his royall person, and estate, and to be true and faithfull to him; now it is impossible for them to defend the King, and to be true and faithfull to him, if they, in time of imminent danger, do not indeavour, as much as in them lieth, to defend his kingdom; for there is such a reciprocall and dependent relation, betwixt the King and his Kingdom, that the one cannot subsist without the other: for if they permit the kingdom to be destroyed, the King must of necessitie be ruined also. If the Master die, the relation of a servant must needs cease: for that relatives cannot subsist, the one, without the other. And if the kingdom fall, the King and Scepter must needs fall to the ground. And this is, in part, the reason of that pollicy of Law, in the 7. *Rep. Calvins* case, that the King is a body politick, lest there should be an *interregnum*; for that a body politique never dieth. 7. Rep. 12. Calvins C.

Why then is it so, that they are bound by their Oaths to defend the kingdom, as well as the King? as in truth they are, for that the King cannot subsist without the kingdom; then the consequence must of necessity be, that the Parliament, in this time of imminent danger, hath well done in settling of the *Militia*, for the defence and welfare of the King and kingdom: and that in so doing, they have not onely not done more then what they might do, but they have done no more then what they were bound to do, and this under the heavie sinne of perjurie.

But here it may be objected, that this is a corrupting and dividing of the Text; for that the Oath of Supremacy doth not onely bind us to be true, and faithfull to the King, but also to defend, *all jurisdictions, Priviledges, preheminences, and authorities, granted, or belonging to his Highnesse, &c.* And the having of the sole disposing of the *Militia* is one of the priviledges of the Crown, and appertaining to his Highnesse: and therefore we are bound likewise, by this Oath, to defend this priviledge of the Kings, against any who shall endeavour the taking it away from his Majestie.

To this I answer, and agree, that the King (as I have shewed before) hath this priviledge and prerogative given unto him, and with him intrusted by the Law for the good of the Common-wealth: but I never heard that he had it allowed him, for the destruction of the same. Again, I agree that the Oath of Supremacy obligeth every man to defend the priviledges and preheminences of the King: but I do not conceive, or believe, that this ought to be so construed, that any man

by the Oath of Supremacy, is bound to defend the priviledges of the King, against the weal publick: for if the weal publick, and priviledges of the King, ſtand in competition, without queſtion the publick intereſt and welfare ought to be preferred. And therefore if the King do not imploy and uſe his priviledges according to the truſt repoſed in him, but rather contrary to it: certainly this doth diſoblige every man from that tie and ingagement in this particular, with which he was bound by the Oath of Supremacy. For ſo to conſtrue the Oath, that I ſhould defend the priviledges of the King, though it be in deſtruction of the common-wealth: were to make the Oath the moſt hard and unreaſonable tye in the world: whereas, every Oath, amongſt other qualifications, ought eſpecially to have theſe two: *viz.* that it be explicite, I mean, without implications, or etcetera's: and reaſonable; and it would be very unreaſonable for a man to ſwear to ſuch a thing as would be his own deſtruction: but *à fortiori*, where it would be the deſtruction of the Common-wealth. And as it is ſaid, *Pereat unus, ne pereant omnes*; let one periſh, that all may not periſh: So I ſay, *Pereant privilegia Regis ne pereat Regnum*: it were much better, that the priviledges of the King ſhould totally ceaſe, or at the leaſt, be ſuſpended for a time, then that the kingdom ſhould be indangered.

But now I ſhall demand of any man an anſwer to this queſtion: whether doth moſt ſtand for and defend the priviledges of the King: either he that endeavoureth to the utmoſt of his power to defend and ſupport the Common-weal, in imminent danger: or he that indeavoureth the deſtruction and ruine of the ſame: this is the very difference, between the Parliament and the Malignant party: the Parliament uſe all means poſſible to defend the King and kingdom from ruine; and the malignant party uſe all their skill to make both for ever miſerable; This queſtion is in it ſelf pregnant of an anſwer: and the very putting of the caſe, is a ſolution of the queſtion: For, no doubt, every wiſe and ingenious man muſt needs conclude within himſelf, that they moſt defend the priviledges of the King, who moſt indeavour the ſafetie of the King and kingdom, and that is the Parliament: ſo that this Objection fails in the very foundation of it.

And now having anſwered that part of the Objection, that we ought not to defend the priviledges of the King againſt the Common-weal: and having likewiſe ſhewed, that he moſt indeavours the defence of the priviledges of the King, who ſeeks moſt the good and proſperitie of the Common-weal. I ſhall now anſwer the latter part of the Objection, that there is none that goeth about the taking away of the priviledges of the King: but onely to imploy them in defect of the King, according to the truſt repoſed in his Majeſtie. For as I have ſhewed before the

the King is tied to protect his Subjects from any forrain invasion, or domestick danger: and now the King refusing to do this, by putting of the kingdom into a posture of defence; the Parliament, according to the trust reposed in them, have, in defect of the King, and in his right, assumed to themselves this great charge, of settling of the *Militia*, for the securitie of the King, and people. And here I shall bid malice it self speak, whether it hath been imployed to any other end or purpose, then that for which it hath been alwayes pretended: *viz.* for the defence of the King and kingdom? or whether the Magazine (which is pretended to be taken from the King) wheras in truth it is imployed by the King, and for the safetie of him, and his kingdom (as I shall afterwards shew) hath been converted to any private property: or otherwise disposed of, then for the common good? and if so, certainly here is no devesting of the pretended property of the King: but that it still remaineth in *statu quo prius*: in the same state that it was at the first. But if it should be admitted, that this priviledge of the King is at this time taken from him: I conceive that it may be so, as this case is: For, as I have said before, it were better that the King should loose his priviledge, then that the kingdom should perish. I agree the rule of Law, that the King, regularly, cannot grant over his Prerogative; and with this accords 4. *Rep.* 7. *Rep.* 14. *H.* 4. 2. *H.* 7. 20. *H.* 7. and many other books: except in some speciall cases, as in the 2. *Rep.* and the 5. *Rep.* and the difference upon the books may be this, where the Prerogative is meerly personall, and where not: where it is meerly personall, there it is not grantable; but where it is not meerly personall, there it is: Now in our case I do conceive, and shall agree, that the ordering of the *Militia* of the kingdom, is a prerogative, so meerly personall in the King, that it cannot be granted over to another. But it doth not therefore follow, that it can by no means be severed; especially, as in this case, when it so much concerneth the good of the Common-weal. Wherefore, I conceive clearly, that the King cannot grant this prerogative over to another; for that he onely is intrusted with it for the weal publick: and as we well know, parties intrusted, cannot grant their trust over: for that a trust is meerly personall, and therefore not severable. And the King can no more grant over his prerogative of protection, or power of ordering of the *Militia*, to another, then he can dispose of his Crown, or royall dignitie, to another: and that he cannot do, for King *John* surrendred his Crown to the Pope, and this was adjudged to be void, for that it was given to him by God, and the Law, in trust for the well governing of his people. And therefore by his own act, or grant, cannot be severed from him: For an office of trust, by the Law, is not grantable over. But on the other side, we see, how that Crowns of Kings have been taken from them, by the

4. *Rep.* 73. a.
7. *Rep.* 25. b.
14. *H.* 4. 9.
2. *H.* 7. *fo.* 13.
20. *H.* 7. *fo.* 8.
2. *Rep. fo.* 41. a.
5. *Rep. fo.* 56. b.

Rot. Parl. An. 40. *E.* 3. *Nu.* 8.

the people, as in case of *R.* 2. and others: I do not speak this in justification of the deposing of Princes, God forbid that I should, their persons are sacred: for that they are Gods anointed, and his Vicegerents, or *Vicarii Dei*, that is, Gods Vicars, as *Bracton* stiles them: against whom, God hath laid an inhibition, that we use not any violence, *Touch not mine anointed*: and therefore for my part, I conceive, that that damned opinion of the *Spencers*, in the reign of *E.* 2. that if the King did not demean himself, by reason in the right of his Crown, that his Lieges were bound by oath to remove the King: and that if the King could not be reformed by suit of Law, that it ought to be done per *asperse*, I say that, I conceive that this was justly damned, as in truth it was afterwards by two Acts of Parliament; the one in the reign of *E.* 2. called *Exilium Hugonis de Spencer*: and the other in 1. *E.* 3. *ca.* 1.

tat. E. 2. called *exilium Hugonis de Spencer.* 1. *E.* 3. *ca.* 1.

But now, though that the King cannot grant this Prerogative over, as I have said before, yet, under favour, I conceive clearly, that it lies in the power of the Parliament, for the preservation of the Kingdom, in case of imminent danger, as now, to settle the *Militia* in hands to be confided in; for, as I have said before, the prerogative of the King must give way to the weal publique, and not the weal publique to the Prerogative of the King. For if the Prerogative of the King ought not to be advanced to the prejudice and wrong of the interest of any private man, as I have shewed before, much lesse, to the wrong and injurie of the re-publique. And with this difference ought *Bracton* to be understood, who saith, that, *Ea quæ jurisdictionis sunt, & pacis, & ea quæ sunt justitiæ & pacis annexa, ad nullum pertinent, nisi ad Coronam & dignitatem Regiam, nec à Corona seperari poterunt, cum faciant ipsam Coronam.* Those things that belong to jurisdiction and peace, or are annexed to them, appertain to none, but the Crown, and Royall Dignity, neither can they be severed from it, for that they make the Crown it self. Now as I have shewed before, these words of *Bracton*, *Ea quæ pacis sunt, &c.* those things that belong to peace, must necessarily intend *Ea quæ belli sunt*, those things that belong to warre also, for that it is impossible for the King, *Absque rebus Militaribus*, that is, without the *Militia*, to defend his people in peace and safety; And for that, that he saith, that this cannot be severed from the Crown: this ought to be understood, by his own act onely: and not that it cannot be severed from him, though in his own default, by his Parliament. For, to make such a construction, were to make a Law, destructive to that, for which it was principally, and in the first place, made to preserve; and that is the Common-wealth. And the like construction and explanation of his words *Bracton* maketh afterwards, for he saith, *Ad personas, vel ad res, transferri non poterunt, nec à privatis personis possideri*: they cannot be

Bract. fo. 55. b.

transferred

transferred to persons, or Tenements, nor be possessed of a private person; which cannot be otherwise intended, then of the grant of the King, for *transferre*, that is, to transferre, is no other then *concedere*, that is, to grant. And I agree with *Bracton* in this, that the King cannot grant over this prerogative: but this position, doth no way conclude against the power of the Parliament, as our case is.

But here *Mittons case* in the fourth *Rep.* cited before to another purpose, may be objected against me, where it is resolved, that the Queene could not take away the grant of the Office of the Clerke of the Countie Court from the Sheriffe: in which case, there is another case also cited to be adjudged by all the Judges of *England, viz.* that the grants of the custodies of Goals of the Counties, by the King are voyde; and the reason that is given for both these Cases, is, that the Sheriffe having these Offices appendent to his Office (as in truth they are) is by the Law responsible for all misdemeanours done in those Offices, and therefore it is against all reason, that the grant of them should be taken from him; but that he should have power, to put in such into those Offices, for whom he should answer. Now the force of the objection stands thus; if these Offices cannot be severed from the Sheriffe, because that by this he should be disabled to performe the trust reposed in him, and yet should be responsible for all misdemeanours done in those offices, which would be very unreasonable: *à fortiori*, you shall not take away this priviledge from the King, for by this he should be disabled, either to protect and defend his people, as by Law he is bound, or faithfully to discharge this great trust reposed in him, as God requireth. To which I answer, that there is a great and wide difference betwixt the cases; for first, in the case of the Sheriffe, the depriving him of the grant of these Offices, concernes onely his private interest, & not the Common-weale; I meane, the Common-weale stands not in competition with the Sheriffes right, as in our case; and therefore in this, the difference is great. But, which makes the cases much more to differ: in the case of the Sheriffe, there was no act or default in him, for which to deprive him of this benefit; and it is a rule in our Law, that *Quod nostrum est, sine facto, sive defectu nostro, amittis, non ad alium transferri, non potest*; a man shall never be devested of his propertie, without his owne act, or default. But otherwise it is here in the case of the King; for, if there be no act, yet I am certaine, that there is a defect or default in the King, in refusing, in this time of imminent danger, to put the Kingdome, according to the advice of his great Counsell, in a posture of defence.

4. *Rep. Mittons case.*

And it is no new thing, for a man to loose his interest in his own default: Upon this I might multiplie cases; but I will put onely one or two familiar and ordinary cases in our Books. If I make an estate for life,

life, or yeares, to another, without condition expreſſed, yet the Leſſe hath not the eſtate ſo abſolute in him, but that by a tacite condition in Law, running with every ſuch particular eſtate, he may, by his own default, looſe his eſtate; and therefore if he commit waſt, he ſubjects his eſtate to be evicted by the Leſſor; or if he aſſumeth to himſelfe, to grant a greater eſtate to another, then he himſelfe hath, by this he forfeiteth his eſtate. But you will peradventure ſay, that this caſe doth not agree with the caſe in queſtion, for that the King hath an eſtate of inheritance in his Crowne, which goeth in ſucceſſion to his poſteritie, as well as the private intereſt of any Subject: This I agree, but under favour, he hath this committed to him in truſt; this tacite condition runneth along with it, that he uſe his regall power and authoritie, for the good of the publique; or if he doth not, that then his great Counſell for breach of this truſt, and non-performance of this tacite condition (though that they cannot meddle with his ſacred perſon, by dethroning of him, or deteſting of him of the regall Scepter) may provide for the ſecuring of him and his Kingdome.

Againe, it is cleare by the Law, that miſuſer or non-uſer of any Franchiſes, Priviledges, or Offices, is a forfeiture of them; but eſpecially of any publique Offices, which concerne the adminiſtration of Juſtice, or the Common-wealth: and with this agreeth 5. *E.* 4. 8. *H.* 4. 20. *E.* 4. and my Lord *Cooke* in his Comment upon *Littleton*: and many other Books. Now it is as cleare, that to be a King, is an Office, though it be the greateſt Office that any one, under God, cah have: and what Office ſo much concerneth the adminiſtration of Juſtice, and the good of the Common-wealth, as this doth? and therefore, though this great office, be no more forfeitable, then it is grantable by the King: for I conceive that to be regularly true in the Law, that that which is not grantable, is not forfeitable: yet, God forbid, that his great Counſell, for his miſuſer, or non-uſer of his Kingly function, ſhould not have power, for the breach of this tacite condition, to apply themſelves, by all lawfull meanes, for the ſecuring of him and his Kingdome.

5. *E.* 4. 5.
8. *H.* 4. 18.
20. *E.* 4. 6.
Juſtit. 233. a.

I ſhall compare this caſe, to one caſe onely, lately adjudged, *viz.* *Hill.* 17. *Car.* in the Kings Bench, *Langhams caſe*, where the caſe was thus; *Langham* a Citizen and free-man of *London*, was elected Alderman of the Citie, and being called to take his Oath, refuſed, for which he was committed to priſon by the Court of Aldermen: upon which he prayed his *Habeas corpus* in the Kings Bench, and it was granted unto him: and upon the returne of the Writ, they did alledge, that they had this cuſtome, that if any man were elected Alderman of the Citie, and refuſed to take the Oath, that the Court of Aldermen had uſed, time out of minde, to impriſon the party ſo refuſing: and then they ſet forth, *de facto*

Hill. 17. *Car.* *in Banco Regis* *Langhams caſe*

facto, how that *Langham* being a Citizen and free-man of *London*, was duely elected Alderman, of such a Ward; and that he being called to take the Oath, refused, and that therefore he was committed by the Court of Aldermen: and the question here was, whether the custome to imprison the body of a free-man, were a good custome, or not? and it was resolved upon solemne debate, by all the Judges of the Kings Bench, that the custome, as this case is, is a good custome: and this is the difference that was taken by them, that a custome generally for a Court of Record to imprison the body of a freeman, is no good custom, for that it is against the libertie of the Subject, and *Magna Charta*, by which it is enacted, *Quod nullus liber homo capiatur, aut imprisonetur, &c.* that is, that no free-man be taken or imprisoned; but *Per legem terræ, &c.* by the Law of the Land. But a custome, as in this case, for to imprison the body of a freeman, for refusing to take an office upon him, which is for the support of government, and without which government cannot subsist, which by consequence, strikes at the very *esse*, and foundation of the Common-wealth; for that it cannot stand without government: such a custome was resolved to be a good custome. Now I shall compare this case, with the case in question: it is here resolved, that a custome for to imprison the body of a freeman, for refusing to do such a thing, which by consequence reflects upon the Common wealth, and may indanger it, that this is a good custome: now thus stands the parallell: and as the rule of Law is, *Ubi eadem ratio, ibi idem jus*, where there is the same reason, there ought to be the same Law. Now the same Law, that defends the Kings prerogative from violation, or seperation from the Crown, doth as strongly, *Et eodem jure*, by the same right, defend the liberty and freedome of every private mans person from imprisonment; for, though the intereſt and priviledge of the King, doe farre transcend any singular and private persons, being compared with them, yet they stand in equipage, *In equali jure*, that is, in equall right, being compared with the Common-weale; and therefore aswell the intereſt of the King, as of his Subject, *Debent cedere Republicæ*, ought to give way to the Common-wealth: And yet we see, that as a mans person, for the good of the Common-wealth, shall be set at large, and free from imprisonment, as it is resolved in 36. & 37. *H.* 8. *Dyer*. Where a man was elected a Burges of Parliament, and being in execution was let at large, by a Writ of priviledge, and adjudged that his inlargement was lawfull, and that the Sheriffe was by this excused: So on the other side, a freemans person, by a private custome, contrary to *Magna Charta*, may for the good of the Common-wealth be imprisoned: and without question, the Subject may as justly demand of the Law, the freedome of his person from imprisonment, as the King, of his prerogative, from violati-

9. H. 3. c.

36. & 37. Dyer, fo. Trewynni Case.

on, or ſeparation; and yet no priviledge, no, not of the perſon it ſelfe, of a common perſon, ought to be preferred before the common good: and by the ſame reaſon, not any priviledge of the King; for, though the King be much greater, and much to be preferred, before many thouſands, of Individuall or particular perſons; yet, without queſtion, the univerſe or Common-wealth, is to be preferred before the King, or any intereſt or priviledge whatſoever of his: ſo that, for all theſe reaſons, I conceive, that the prerogative of the King, may, as this caſe is, be ſevered from him: and therefore, that the Parliament (admitting that they have taken it from his Majeſty) have done no more then what is warrantable by the Law.

But now, if all that I have as yet ſaid, will not ſufficiently juſtifie the Parliament in their proceedings, concerning the *Militia*: I ſhall adde
3. a third reaſon to prove, that what they have done, is lawfull: and that is this; what they declare to be Law, bindes the King, by an incluſive judgement, & then their judgemennt, being the judgement of the King, and their Votes and Declarations of the Law, including the royall aſſent and declaration: the King cannot afterwards by a ſubſequent Declaration countermand his own judgement, tacitly included in theirs: and by conſequence, the prerogative of the King ſuffers no violence; for *Volenti non fit injuria*, that is, a man that conſents to the doing of a thing, is not injured by the thing being done. Now that their Declarations of the Law, includes the King, and ſhall binde him, I ſhall preſently prove it: Firſt, it is cleare, that the Parliament conſiſting of the three eſtates: *viz.* of the King, Lords, and Commons, are a Court; and it is as cleare, that they are the greateſt and higheſt Court in *England*; in which, Juſtice is adminiſtred by the King, in thoſe Worthies, unto his people, in the moſt high and tranſcendent way that can be: for the King doth not appeare with that ſplendour and brightneſſe of Juſtice and integritie; neither is he ſo true and clearely repreſented to his people, in thoſe glorious rayes of his, in any Court of Juſtice whatſoever, as he is, in his thrice great and honourable Court of Parliament. Now that it is a Court, and that the greateſt Court in *England*, in the 9. *Rep. Epiſt. ibidem*, my Lord *Cooke* ſaith, that among other appellations, it is called by the name *Magna Curia, &c.* of the great Court, and in *Pl. Com. fo.* 388. the Parliament is a Court of thrice great honour and juſtice, &c. and *Bracton* 34. *a. Rex habet &c. Curiam ſuam*, viz. *Comites Barones, &c.* the King hath his Court, to wit, Earles, Barons, &c. and *Fleta lib.* 2. *ca.* 2. *Habet etiam Rex Curiam ſuam, in Conſilio ſuo, in Parliamentis ſuis, &c.* the King hath his Court, in his Counſell, in his Parliaments, &c. and *Crompton* in his *Juriſdiction of Courts*, begins with the deſcription of the high Court of Parliament, giving it the preceden-

p. Epiſt *fo.* 388. *fo.* 34. *b. li.* 2. *ca.* 2. *p. Iur. d' s. fo.* 2. *a.*

cy in act, as well as in words: where he ſaith, that the ſaid Court, is, *L'treſhaulte Court d' Engliterre*, that is, the thrice high Court of *England*: in which, ſaith he, the Prince himſelfe ſits in perſon, &c. And I ſhall conclude this with *Dyer*, who ſaith, that this Court of Parliament, is the higheſt Court, and hath more priviledges then any other Court of the Realme, &c. And all this is made cleare, without further ſaying, by this; that no appeale lyeth from this Court; no reverſall of their judgement, but by the judgement of a ſubſequent Parliament. *Dyer fo.*

Then this being admitted, that the Parliament is the greateſt Court in *England*, I ſhall argue thus: is the King by intendment of Law, preſent in all his other inferiour Courts? as in truth he is, as 21. *H.* 7. and 2 & 3. *Eliz. Dyer.* and many other books are: which certainly is the reaſon of the heavy judgement of theſe caſes, of killing of a Judge upon the Bench; that that is Treaſon: Or of drawing of a ſword to ſtrike a Juſtice ſitting in judgement: or of ſtriking of a Juror in the preſence of Juſtice, that theſe incurre the heavy judgement, of cutting off the right hand, perpetuall impriſonment, and the loſſe of lands, and goods, as the books are, of 22. *E.* 3. and *F. Judgement*, 174. or of killing of a Meſſenger of the King, that goeth to execute his commandment, that this likewiſe is Treaſon, as the book is, in 22. *Aſſ.* I ſay, I conceive, that the reaſon of theſe caſes is, for that he that offers violence to his Miniſter, when he is doing the ſervice of his great Maſter the King: offers violence to the King himſelf, whoſe perſon he repreſents, and who by intendment of Law, is there preſent giving judgement: and he that ſtrikes another in the preſence of Juſtice, doth it as in the preſence of the King himſelf: for that what the Judge, or Miniſter of the King doth, in purſuance of the lawfull commands of the King, or in executing Juſtice, is the act or judgement of the King himſelf, according to that rule of Law, *Qui per alium facit, per ſeipſum facere videtur*: the act of a mans miniſter or ſervant, is the act of the Maſter himſelf. And this *Bracton* himſelf ſaith, treating of Juriſdiction, delegated by the King, to inferiour Judges, and withall ſhewing and directing of thoſe Judges Delegates, to execute righteous judgement, ſaith he, *Tale judicium diligit honor Regis, cujus perſonam in judicio & judicando repreſentant.* Such a judgement the honour of the King delights in, whoſe perſon, in judgement, they repreſent. Why then, I ſay, is it thus, that the King by intendment of Law, is preſent in all his other Courts; and that what they do, or judge, is the act or judgement of the King himſelf? then certainly it muſt of neceſſity follow, (as indeed the Law is) that their judgement cannot be countermanded by the King: for this were to put *Ceſar* againſt *Ceſar*, the King againſt himſelf, which cannot be; for that when a Judge hath once given his judgement, he cannot afterwards countermand this judgement. 21. *H.* 7. ſ. 2. & 3. *Dyer* fo. 22. *E.* 3. *Fitz. Ju.* 174. 22. *Aſſ.* *Bract* fo.

Again, is the King (as I have ſaid) by intendment of Law preſent in his inferiour Courts; and is their judgement his judgement, ſo that by this his Majeſtie is eſtopped and concluded by his own incluſive judgement, to countermand theirs. Then, I ſay, *a fortiori*, the King, though he diſunite himſelf from his Parliament, yet by intendment of Law, and virtually he is preſent in his high Court of Parliament: and therefore their judgement is his judgement: and what they declare to be Law, the King by an incluſive judgement declareth to be Law alſo. And if ſo, the concluſion muſt of neceſſity be, that the King can no more countermand their judgement, then he can the judgement of his Judges: for when *Tranſit in rem judicatam*, that is, when a thing is once adjudged, it can never after be repealed by the ſame judgement (as I have ſaid) for that were a way to make judgement upon judgement, and ſo *ad infinitum, & infinitum in iure reprobatur*: the Law deteſts infinites. And as the King himſelf, cannot repeal this judgement pronounced by his Parliament: ſo neither can he do it, by any other adviſe or judgement, power, or juriſdiction whatſoever, no not by the adviſe, though of all the Judges of *England*, for that there is no power or judgement whatſoever, but is inferiour to the judgement of the high Court of Parliament; which is plain, by that, that no appeal lieth from them: and then the rule of Law binds up and ſuperſedeth all inferiour judgements: *In preſentia maioris, ceſſat poteſtas minoris.* In the preſence of the great, the power of the leſſe ceaſeth. And therefore according to this rule,

Aſſ. Pl. 1. it is reſolved in 21. *Aſſ.* that becauſe that the Kings Bench is Eier, and more then Eier: if a Commiſſion of Eier ſit in a County, and the Kings Bench cometh thither; the Eier ceaſeth. And this is the reaſon, that

. 1. c. 4. 5. when it was enacted by the Statute of 28 *E.* 1. that the Kings Bench ſhould follow the King, that the power of the Steward of the Kings Houſhold, to determine Pleas of the Crown, did ceaſe: and that in Terme time, when the Kings Bench ſits, in the ſame County, all Com-

Rep. fo. 73. miſſions ceaſe, as it is reſolved in the 10. *Rep.* and in the 9. *Rep.* And

Rep. fo. b. this is the reaſon likewiſe, that when the Pope exerciſed juriſdiction here in *England*, whatſoever the Ordinary of any Dioceſſe might do, that the Pope, who challenged to himſelf ſupreme juriſdiction, over all Ordinaries, uſed to do within this Realm, as ſupreme Ordinary: and ſo he uſed to make Viſitations, corrections, diſpenſations, and tolerations, within every Dioceſſe of this Realm, as the Ordinaries uſed: ſo he uſed to make Appropriations, without the Biſhop: and this was held good, and was never contradicted by the Biſhop, who was accounted but the inferiour Ordinary. Upon this ground, as it is ſaid by *Man-*

om. fo. a. *wood Juſtice in Pl. Com. In preſentia maioris, ceſſat poteſtas minoris.*

So

So I ſay, in the caſe in queſtion, for that the high Court of Parliament, are the moſt ſupreme juriſdiction in *England*; what they declare to be Law, cannot be countermanded, by the judgement of any power or Counſell whatſoever: becauſe that in the preſence of the moſt ſupreme juriſdiction, the inferiour ceaſeth. I do not hereby intend, that the power of the Judges, in their ſeverall Courts, for the diſpenſation and execution of juſtice, ſhould ceaſe in the Terme, for that the Parliament is ſitting at the ſame time, And the reaſon is obvious, for that theſe Courts have their proper and diſtinct juriſdictions, from the Parliament; and therefore cannot be ſuperſeded by it. I intend by this onely that what the Parliament hath declared to be Law, cannot, as I have ſaid before, be countermanded by any other inferiour judgement whatſoever: for that where the powers exerciſe the ſame juriſdiction, they cannot both ſtand together, but the greater will cathere and ſuſpend the leſſe: ſo I ſay in our caſe.

But here it may be objected, that the King is *fons Juſtitiæ*, that is, the fountain of Juſtice; and that he onely, as *Bracton* ſaith, *Ordinariam habet juriſdictionem, & dignitatem & poteſtatem ſuper omnes qui in regno ſuo ſunt, habet enim omnia jura in manu ſua, &c.* And a little after he ſaith, *Ea quæ juriſdictionis ſunt, &c. & ea quæ ſunt Juſtitiæ, &c. annexa, ad nullum pertinent, niſi ad Coronam & dignitatem Regiam:* that is, thoſe things which appertain to juriſdiction, and juſtice, belong to no body, but the Crown, and royall dignity. And as all juſtice and juriſdiction is primarily and originally in the King, ſo they cannot be exerciſed by any other, except that they be firſt delegated to them by the King; And ſo ſaith *Bracton* a little after, *Juriſdictiones, &c. non poſſunt à privata perſona poſſideri, nec uſus, nec executio juris, niſi hoc datum fuerit ei deſuper:* that is, no juriſdiction, nor execution of the Law, can be exerciſed by any private perſon, except that this power be firſt given unto him from the King. So *Bracton* treating of juriſdiction, ſaith; *Videndum, &c. quis primo & principaliter poſſit & debet judicare:* that is, let us ſee, who firſt, and principally, may, and ought to judge. And then he anſwereth, *Sciendum, quod ipſe Rex, & non alius, ſi ſolus ad hoc ſufficere poſſit; cum ad hoc virtute ſacramenti teneatur aſtrictus:* that is, we muſt know, that the King onely, and no other, if he alone may ſuffice: For that he is bound to do it, by vertue of his Oath. And after in the next Chapter ſpeaking of juriſdiction delegated, he ſaith, *Si ipſe Dominus Rex ad ſingulas cauſas terminandas, non ſufficiat, ut levior ſit illi labor, &c.* he may, ſaith he, *Conſtituere Juſticiarios, &c. quibus referantur tam quæſtiones ſuper dubiis, quam querimonia ſuper injuriis, &c.* that is, if the King alone cannot ſuffiſe to determine all cauſes, that his labour may be the more eaſie, he may conſtitute Juſtices, to whom, as well doubts in Law

Bract. fo. 55. b.

Bract. fo. 107.

Bract. fo. 108. a.

may be referred, as complaints, upon injuries. And in pursuance of this, the King, not possibly sufficing to exercise all jurisdiction himself, hath in all ages, delegated power and jurisdiction to a certain number of men; and hath constituted them Judges, and dispensers of the Law under his Majestie, and in his right and name, to his people.

Now all this being admitted, as in truth it cannot be denied, the force of the objection stands thus: is it so that no jurisdiction can be exercised by any, except that it be first delegated to them by the King, and that the King hath constituted certain persons, to be his Judges of the Law? why then it lieth not in the power of the two Houses of Parliament, to declare what is Law, and what not. First, because that they are not the proper Judges of it. And secondly, because that they have no such power given unto them by the King: for what power they have it is derived by their Writ, by which the King calleth them to Parliament: and this onely requireth their presence, *Super dictis negotiis tractaturis*: and *tractare* is onely to treat of or debate the Law, not to declare, or give judgement what the Law is; Besides, this word *tractare* is contained onely in the Writ by which the Lords are summoned to Parliament, and not in the Writ of the Commons, for by that they are called onely (as I remember the Writ is) *ad faciendum & consentiendum*, to do, and agree; why then they have no such power to intermeddle with the debating of the Law, much lesse to declare what the Law is.

To which I answer: That the two Houses of Parliament conjoyned (for I speak not of the power of the House of Commons distinct, and by it self) may not onely declare what the Law is, but are the best and most proper Judges of it. Are not they the *ne plus ultra*; that the Subject hath for redresse in matter of Law? are not they (as common experience teacheth us) the supreme Seat of Judicature? and do not they exercise a superintendent jurisdiction over all other Courts? and have not they power by a Writ of Error, brought before them, to reverse Judgements erroniously given in other Courts? Without doubt they have; witnesse that case of the Ship-money: which Judgement could not possibly have been reversed, but by the Parliament; who upon debate, declared that Judgement to be against the Law; and how miserable this Common-wealth had been: if they had not had this power, the lamentable successe, of devesting of the Subjects property, without his consent, by that damnable judgement, contrary to all Law, would have in short time, been manifested to the whole world. But to this it may be said, that in these cases, the Judges advise, who sit as assistants in Parliament, is demanded: and that in such case, the King, by his Judges, doth declare what the Law is. To this I answer, that because the Parliament may demand the advise of the Judges, who sit there to that intent, will

it therefore ſollow that they are tied to it? or having demanded their adviſe: muſt the conſequence be, that they are bound to follow it? without queſtion nothing leſſe: for this were to tie my judgement to another mans principles, which ought not to be. And it were abſurd for to think, that the Parliament, who are the ſupreme ſeat of Judicature, ſhould be tied to ſubſcribe to the judgement of any inferiour power whatſoever. And now I ſhall put you one caſe: *poſito*, that all the Judges of *England*, aſſembled together in the Chequer Chamber to give judgement in a point of Law, ſhould all concurre in their judgements, and ſhould give judgement accordingly; and after in a Writ of Error brought in Parliament, this judgement ſhould be reverſed: doe not the Parliament onely, in this caſe, declare what the Law is? Without queſtion they doe; for, I ſuppoſe, that there is none ſo ſtupid, as to thinke, that the Judges advice or judgement ought or can be received in this caſe; for this were, upon the matter, to appeale *à Cæſare, ad Cæſarem*, and to reverſe that Judgement (though not by the ſame power) yet by the ſame adviſe that gave it: which, as I conceive, by the Law ought not to be.

But here peradventure it will be againe objected, that no Writ of error can be brought in Parliament, but that the King firſt ſignes to it: and this is a conſent by the King, & a giving of them power to proceed and declare what the Law is: but in our caſe there is no ſuch thing, for here is nothing judicially before them, by which to authoriſe them to give any ſuch judgement, and therefore they have no ſuch power to declare what the Law is, in this caſe; and if they doe, their proceeding is extrajudiciall and arbitrary. 1. *H.* 7. 15. b.

To this I anſwer, that true it is, that they cannot, nor ought not to take notice of any thing which concerneth any private perſons, or their intereſt; neither can they, in any ſuch caſe, give Judgement, or declare what the Law is, except they have ſomething judicially pending before them, upon which to ground their judgement; but otherwiſe it is where it concerneth the Common-wealth, for there, I conceive, under favour, (eſpecially, as in this caſe, in time of imminent danger) they are not tied to any legall way of proceeding, but they may, and are bound, as well by their Oaths of Alleageance, Supremacy, and their late Proteſtation, as by their Writ, by which they are called to Parliament, to take notice of all things, which may be obnoxious and prejudicall to the Common-wealth: and to debate, determine, and declare the Law concerning them, though that they have nothing judicially before them; for if they ſhould, in this caſe, expect a complainant, the Common-wealth might periſh, before that they could yeeld any ayde or aſſiſtance, for the ſecuring of it. Now by their Oaths, they are bound to defend

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the King and Kingdome (as I have before ſaid) and by their Writ they have power and authoritie given them, *De imminentibus periculis tractare*: and *tractare*, doth not onely ſignifie to handle, treate of, or debate; but likewiſe it ſignifieth, as the learned obſerve, to order, to governe, to write of, or to deſcribe; and, without queſtion, theſe words have weight, ſence, and power enough in them, not onely to inable them to debate what the Law is, but alſo to declare what it is, after that it is debated: ſo that I conceive, by this it is cleare, that the Parliament doe not exerciſe, practiſe, or endeavour any arbitrary way of proceeding. And the difference (as I conceive) upon the whole matter, will be this; that the two Houſes of Parliament cannot (as I have ſhewed before) make a new Law, or alter the old Law, without the conſent of the King, and this by Act of Parliament; but they may declare what the Common Law is, and this ſhall be obliging to his Majeſtie; for otherwiſe, this great Court, which ſo farre tranſcends all others, in other things, ſhould be leſſe in power, in this particular, then any other; Which ought not to be conceived, or imagined.

Now this being Law, which I have delivered, as I conceive it is; from hence theſe Concluſions may neceſſarily, and by conſequence, be deduced; First, that the declaration of the Law, to be otherwiſe by the Proclamation, or other Declaration of the King, doth not change the Law; for that it is a Rule in the Law, that the King can neither create a Law, nor alter the Law, by his Patent or Proclamation: And with this agreeth 49. *Aſſ.* 37. *H.* 8. *Br. Patents* 100. 11. *H.* 4. 10. *H.* 7. 5. *Rep.* and many other Books. Secondly, Hence a good argument may be deduced, to prove the Commiſſion of Array, at this time illegall; for that the King, with the advice of his great Counſell the Parliament, hath by a tacite and incluſive conſent (as I have made it good before) eſtabliſhed the *Militia*; why then clearely it lieth not in his Majeſties power, without their conſent, to countermand this by any other Commiſſion; for the Rule of Law is, that *Eodem modo, quo, quid conſtituitur, diſſolvitur*, that is, every thing ought to be diſſolved by a matter of as high nature, as it was created: and that is the reaſon, that an Act of Parliament, cannot be repealed but by an Act of Parliament; for that no power or juriſdiction whatſoever, is ſo great as it ſelfe: and it is without queſtion, that the Kings power or authoritie, by it ſelfe, is not of ſo high and excellent a nature, as it is joyned with his Parliament: Wherefore I doe conceive, for this reaſon, that the Commiſſion of Array is abſolutely unlawfull, and therefore ought not to be ſubmitted unto. Thirdly, and laſtly, Hence may be concluded, that the Kings declaration of the Law, to be contrary to what the Parliament have declared the Law to be, is *Coram non Judice*; that is, by one that hath not juriſdiction of the cauſe.

49. *Aſſ. Pl.* 8.
37. *H.* 8.
Br. Pat. 100.
11. *H.* 4. 37.
10. *H.* 7. 23.
4. *Rep. fo.* 55.

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First, Becaiſe (as I have ſaid) that the King himſelfe cannot declare the Law to be contrary to their judgement, for that his Majeſties judgement is ſuperſeded, and bound up in theirs: and ſecondly, For that he cannot contradict their judgement, by any other advice or judgement, for that, that advice or judgement is inferiour to the Court of Parliament; and therefore in their preſence, as to this purpoſe, ought to ceaſe. And I ſhall compare this caſe, to one caſe onely, which is in the 10. *Rep.* in the caſe of the *Marſhalſea*, where the caſe is thus; The Sheriffe who is preſcribed by the Law to hold his Tourne within the Moneth after Mich. &c. held his Tourne after the Moneth, and tooke an Indictment of Robbery at the ſame Tourne, and the Indictment being removed by a *Certiorari* into the Kings Bench, by the advice of all the Juſtices, the partie ſo indicted, was diſcharged, for that the Indictment was utterly voyde, and *Coram non Judice*, becauſe at this time the Sheriffe had no authoritie to hold his Court: ſo I ſay, in this caſe, the Declaration or Proclamation of the King, is *Coram non Judice*, for that though the King properly, and onely, ought to declare the Law, by the advice of his Judges, at another time, yet at this time he cannot, for that their judgement is eſtopped and ſuperſeded, by the ſuperintendency of the high Court of Parliament: Then the Law being thus, this juſtifieth the proceedings of Parliament, in puniſhing of ſuch, who dare adventure, againſt Law, to execute the Commiſſion of Array, or to proclaime, or declare any thing in his Majeſties name, againſt his owne judgement, and the judgement of his Parliament, for the Rule of Law is; *Extra territorium jus dicenti, non paretur, impune*; he that obeyes the command of any power, out of its juriſdiction, ſhall be puniſhed for it: So I conclude this point alſo, and conceive, that for this reaſon likewiſe, the Parliament hath done no more then what is warranted by the Lawes of the Land.

10. *Rep. fo.* 7 *the caſe of Marſhalſea*

Fourthly, and laſtly, I hold that the Parliament have done no more then what is warrantable by Law, upon this ground (which ought to be the *Baſis* and end of all Law) *viz.* the comuon good and ſafetie: but of this onely a word, for that I have touched it before. That Law which is above all Law, & to which all Law ought to ſubſcribe, is *Salus Populi*, the ſafetie of the people. True it is, that the Law was made to defend every mans private intereſt, as well as the Republique, but primarily and principally the Republique: It is the Rule of Law (as I have ſhewed before) *Quod bonum publicum, privato anteferri debet*; that the publique good ought to be preferred before the private. And againe, we have another Rule, *Quod magis dignum, trahit ad ſe quod eſt minus dignum*, that the more worthy doth draw to it the leſſe worthy: and without controverſie, the *magis dignum*, the more worthy, in the Common-

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wealth; why then the *minus dignum*, the leſſe worthy, which is, every mans private concernment, muſt ſubſcribe to that.

And the reaſon, wherefore the good and ſafetie of the Republique, ought principally and in the firſt place to be maintained, and therefore is ſtyled *Supreme Law*, that is, the moſt ſupreme Law, or, if you will, a Law above all Lawes, is, for that as in the naturall body, if the body be in health, the members muſt needs be well alſo, and if the body be ſicke, the members muſt needs ſympathiſe with it: ſo it is in the body politique, if the body be well, the members fare all the better for it, if the body be in diſtemper, the members cannot but be diſtempered alſo; ſo the happineſſe, or miſery, of every individuall perſon, hangeth upon the good or ill ſucceſſe of the Common-wealth, and therefore the good of the Common-wealth ought to have the firſt and chiefeſt endeavour, of every true and faithfull member of it.

8.E.2.27. 9. *Rep.* 139.b. *Leighleyes C.*

In 18. *E.* 2. which you ſhall find cited in the 10. *Rep. Leighleyes C.* a man brought an Action upon the caſe, againſt another, and the ground of the Action was, for ſuffering of a Wall of the Sea, that the Defendant was bound by preſcription to repair, when need ſhould be, unrepaired, ſo that for default of reparation, the water entred, and ſurrounded the lands of the Plaintiffe. The Defendant traverſed the preſcription, upon which they were at iſſue, and it was found for the Plaintiffe, and that there was a default in the wall, for not repairing, for which the Plaintiffe recovered his Damages, and a Writ was awarded to the Sheriffe, to diſtrain the Defendant to repair the Wall, where need was, and default. Upon which my Lord *Coke* maketh a ſpeciall obſervation; *Note* Reader, ſaith he, this judgement, and the reaſon of it, is, *pro bono publico*, for the common good. For, ſaith he, *Salus populi, eſt ſuprema Lex*: the ſafetie of the people is the moſt ſupreme Law: and therefore it is part of the judgement, in this Action, that the Defendant ſhould be reſtrained to repair the wall. As if he had ſaid, this Action is brought by the Plaintiffe, for his ſpeciall damnification onely, and this benefit reſtored to him by the judgement: But yet note, for that it concerneth the weal-publique, the Judges conſidering themſelves to be tied both in Law and conſcience, to provide for the ſecuring of the ſame, made this part of their judgement likewiſe, that the Defendant be compelled to repair the ſame, leſt in defect of this, the Common-wealth ſhould ſuffer wrong. Here you may ſee, the care that the Judges then had of the common good: It were well that this were pondered on in thoſe dayes, in which I doubt, men are too ready and prone to prefer their own private concernment in their endeavours, I mean this honour, before the publique ſafetie.

Da. Rep. fo. 32. b. In *Davis Rep.* it is reſolved, that [illegible]

to the intereſt of one particular perſon, & yet reaſonable, where it is for the benefit of the Common-wealth in generall; as a cuſtome to make Bulwarks upon the land of another for the defence of the Realm, 36. *H.* 8. *Dyer*, and to raze houſes *in publico incendio*, in a common fire, 29. *H.* 8. *Dyer*, (theſe caſes I have remembred before) ſo to turn the plough upon the head-land of another, in favour of husbandry, 21. *E.* 4. and to drie Nets upon the land of another, in favour of fiſhing, and navigation, 8. *E.* 4. But ſaith the book, a cuſtome which is contrary to the publique good, which is the ſcope and generall end of all Laws (for *ſalus populi, ſuprema lex*) or injurious and prejudiciall to the multitude, and beneficiall onely to ſome particular perſon, ſuch a cuſtome is repugnant to the Law of reaſon, which is above all poſitive Laws, &c. Here note, that it is ſaid, that the Law of reaſon is above all poſitive Laws: and no doubt but it is, for that Law, which is againſt reaſon, is rather a myſtery of iniquitie, then Law: and in truth, it is no Law, which is not grounded upon the Law of reaſon. For as ſome will have it, the word (*Lex*) is derived, *à ligando, quoniam ad obſervandas leges, homines ligat*: and no queſtion a Law, which is unreaſonable, doth not oblige men to obedience: ſo that it is no Law, if it be not warranted by the Law of reaſon. Now to apply this to the caſe in queſtion; the King, by his Prerogative, ought to have the ſole diſpoſing of the *Militia*: the kingdom being in imminent danger, the King refuſeth to ſettle it, by the adviſe of his great Counſell, for the ſecuring of himſelf and his people; Now the doubt is, whether the Parliament may without the conſent of the King, aſſume this power to themſelves, for the ſecuring of his Majeſtie, and his kingdom? or whether they ought to ſubſcribe to the Prerogative of the King, though it be to the apparent deſtruction of the Common-weal; which of theſe two is the reaſonable Law, is the queſtion? Why no doubt, *Salus populi*, the ſafetie of the people: for theſe reaſons. Firſt, for that the Law was made for the people, and not the people for the Law. And ſecondly, for that the whole ought to be preferred before any part: wherefore I conclude that it is *Suprema Lex*; the moſt ſupreme Law, and therefore the Prerogative of the King ought to give way to this; and not this, to the Prerogative of the King: for if you preſerve and maintain the common good, you preſerve and maintain the Kings Majeſtie, his Prerogative, your Laws, and your ſelves; and if you do otherwiſe, you deſtroy all. And therefore I conclude all with this, *Non ſolum conveniens eſt, ſed neceſſe eſt, ut ſalus populi, ſit ſuprema Lex*: That it is not onely convenient, but neceſſary, that the ſafety of the people, ſhould be the moſt ſupreme Law: And therefore the Parliament have done that which is agreeable both to Law and reaſon, in preferring of the publique ſafetie.

36. *H.* 8. *Dyer fo.* 60
29. *H.* 8. *Dyer fo.* 36
21. *E.* 4. 21
8. *E.* 4. 18.

FINIS.

14

THE HEALING OF ISRAELS BREACHES.

VVherein is set forth

ISRAELS { *Disease.* *Cure.* *Physitian.* *Danger.* }

All paralleld with, and applyed to the Present Times.

As they were delivered in six Sermons at the weekly Lecture in the Church of Great *Yarmouth.*

By

JOHN BRINSLY Minister of the Word, and Pastor of Somerleiton an adjacent village.

Published by order of a Committee of the House of Commons.

TEXT. PSAL. 60. 2.

Heale the Breaches thereof, for it shaketh.

LONDON,
Printed for JOHN BARTLET, at the signe of the golden Cup, neere S. *Austins* gate, in S. *Pauls* Church-yard. 1642.

Ger. 30

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Wherein is set forth

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BY

JOHN BARNARD Minister of the Word, and Pastor of Somerleyton an adjacent village.

Published by order of a Committee of the House of Commons.

TEXT. PSAL. 60. 2.

Heale the Breaches thereof, for it shaketh.

LONDON,
Printed for JOHN BARTLET, at the sign of the golden Cup, near S. Austins gate, in S. Pauls Church yard. 1642.

To all the Lovers of Truth, and Peace, specially those in the Towne of Great Yarmouth.



O some of you were these Meditations lately *preached*; For all of you they are now *Published*. My *Designe* in both is, (that which should bee the *Desire* of every true *Israelite*) *The Healing of the Breaches in this our Israel*. And my *Hopes* are that there is not a *line* within the *Circumference* of this *Tract*, which is not drawne directly to this *Center*. If any shall thinke otherwise, let them mistrust their

their owne eyes, which, being *dazeled*, will make the *Sun-beames* (though moſt *direct* in themſelves) ſeeme *diſtort*, and crooked. Sure I am, what ever my *lines* may ſeeme to bee, my *Intentions* have beene *right*. Theſe I can approve to God who knowes them; and the other (I truſt) ſhall approve themſelves to thoſe who (being not prejudiced) are able to judge of them. If herein I fall ſhort of my *Marke*, let it be enough I have *aymed*, and *ſhot* at it.

In magnis voluiſſe——

Yours, devoted to the ſervice of Gods Truth, and the Churches Peace,

IOH. BRINSLY.

ISRAELS DISEASE.

The first Sermon.

Anno 1641. *Feb.* 23.

PSAL. 60. 2.

Heal the Breaches thereof, for it is ſhaken.

IN theſe words which I have now ſingled out upon this ſolemn occaſion; we have the ſum and ſubſtance of an earneſt requeſt made by *David* in the behalfe of that Kingdome, whereof God had made him the head; the Kingdome of Iſrael. This Kingdome it had beene, and as yet for the preſent was, in a diſtreſſed, diſtracted ſtate and condition. So it had beene, not onely under the *Iudges*, during whoſe government it felt often or twelue ſeverall *commotions* or *Perſecutions*, (as *Iacobus de Valentia* writing upon this Pſalme, com-

a Publike faſt.

Occaſion.

computes them, paralelling, and comparing them with the ten *Primitive Persecutions* of the Church under the Gospell) but also under King *Saul*, and sometime after his death; during which time it had beene afflicted and distressed, partly by *foraigne invasion*, partly by intestine and homebred *seditions*. By *foraigne invasion*, especially of the *Philistines*, who in that fatall Battle slew King *Saul* himselfe, with his three Sonnes, routing his whole Army, cutting off the flower and strength of Israel, taking possession of some of the chiefe holds and Cities in that Kingdome, having expulsed the Inhabitants; the said story whereof you may read, 1 Sam. the last, 2 Sam. 1. By *homebred seditions*; those raised partly by *Saul* himselfe, during his life; partly by his *Sonne* after his death. By *Saul* himselfe, who in an hostile manner causelesly prosecuted and persecuted *David* as a publique enemy to the State, whom God had designed to be next heire to the Crowne, so making a great and a dangerous *Commotion* in that Kingdome: withall, falling upon the *Priests* of God with great cruelty & rage, butchering no lesse then *fourescore and five persons* of them at once; all that were found, upon suspition of their siding with *David*, or favouring his cause, of both which you may reade, 1 *Sam.* 22. this did *Saul* in his life. After his death *Ishbosheth* his sonne, by *Abners* instigation laying claime to the *Crowne*, maketh a strong party, taketh up Armes, putteth the Kingdome into blood, distracting and wasting it with a long and a dangerous *Civill warre*, of which you may reade, 2 *Sam.* 2, 3. *Cap.* Thus that Kingdome

had beene afflicted. And hereunto Interpreters generally conceive the *verses* before the sixt to have reference, wherein the *Psalmist* complaines unto God, *O God thou hast cast us off, thou hast scattered us, ver.* 1. This he had done in that fatall overthrow given to *Saul* and his *Armie Royall* by the *Philistines*, at which time the *Israelites* forsaking their Habitations fled into the Mountaines, hiding themselves amongst the *Rocks*, leaving their Cities to be possessed by their enemies, themselves being made a *dispertion*, as you may see, 1 *Sam.* c. last, v. 7. this God had done to them, thereby manifesting his *displeasure* against them, seeming as it were to have *cast them off*. *O God thou hast cast us off, thou hast scattered us, thou hast beene displeased, &c. Thou hast made the Earth to tremble, thou hast broken it:* So the Psalme goeth on, *v.* 2. with reference as Interpreters conceive it to those *homebred divisions*, those *Civill-warres* betwixt the two *Houses* of *Saul* and *David*, after the death of *Saul*, then did the *Earth*, the *Land*, that *Land* of *Israel* (as the *Chaldee* explaines it) *quake* and *tremble*, being *broken, riven*, (as the word in the Originall signifieth:) even as the *Earth* sometimes by *Earth-quakes* it is riven, and torne a sunder with prodigious *Chasmaes*, openings, or gapings; so was that Kingdome divided in those *Civill Commotions*; the *Nobles* and *Commons* taking parts and siding, some with *David*, some with *Ishbosheth*. So miserably had that Kingdome beene distressed, distracted, so it had beene 1, and as yet for the present in part still was. However those *stormes* were well over, and the Heaven had begun

Coherence. Calvin. Mollerus Sohnius. Scultetus.

to cleare, the Kingdome was somewhat quieted, yet still was it in an unsetled, tottering condition; and that as by reason of those late *distemperatures* which were not yet thoroughly healed, so also by reason of some present *distractions* wherewith it was still afflicted. Still there were *Ruptures*, *Breaches* in the Kingdome, and those more then a few, and such as did both unsettle and indanger it, shaking the very foundations of it: And in regard hereof it is, that the *Psalmist* here prefers this his Petition unto God, the summe and substance whereof you have in this short clause which I have now singled out, wherein we may take notice of two particulars.

Division. Davids { *Request.* / *Reason.*

His *Request*, that God would *heale the Breaches of his Kingdome: Heale the Breaches thereof.*

His *Reason* or *Argument* to back and second his *Request*, taken from the eminent *danger* wherein that his Kingdome then was, in case God should not step in into it by mature and timous Prevension, it was *shaken. Heale the Breaches thereof, for it shaketh*, or it is *shaken*. You see the parts of the *Text*, to prosecute them in their Order, beginning with the former.

Davids Request, which he presents and puts up as you see in a Metaphoricall straine, the *Metaphor* taken from a *Phisitian* or *Chyrurgion*, who by ministring and applying sanative *Medicines*, and healing *Salves*, *Cures* and healeth the *Diseases* or *Rup-*

Ruptures of his patient. And therein (following the ſence of the *Metaphor*) we ſhall take notice of three particulars,

1. *Iſraels Diſeaſe.*
2. *Iſraels Cure.*
3. *Iſraels Phyſitian.*

Iſraels Diſeaſe; *Ruptures*, *Breaches*; the *Breaches thereof*. *Iſraels Cure*; the making up or *healing* of thoſe *Breaches*: *Heale the Breaches thereof*. *Iſraels Phyſitian*, from *whom* it is that *David* here ſeeks for this *Cure*, viz. *God himſelfe*: To him it is that he maketh this his *Requeſt*, as the firſt word in the Pſalme informes us; *O God, heale thou the Breaches thereof*. Inſiſt wee upon theſe three particulars ſeverally, beginning firſt with *Iſraels Diſeaſe*; *the Breaches thereof*.

Iſraels Diſeaſe, Breaches. The word and thing explained.

What *David* hereby means I have in part explained already, *viz.* Thoſe *Diſtractions*, *Diviſions*, *Politicall Breaches*, and *Ruptures* in the body of his Kingdome. *Shevariah* ſaith the Hebrew, *Contritiones*, *Rupturas*, *Fragmenta*; the *Ruptures*, *Breaches*, *Shivers*; a word which anſwers the Originall both in *ſound* and *ſence*; poſſibly fetcht from this *Hebrew* root *Shibber*, to breake or *ſhiver* a *Breach*: this was *Iſraels Diſeaſe*. A Diſeaſe in what bodie ſoever wee meet with it: Be it firſt in the *Naturall* body; whether *Inwardly*, a *Rupture*, or *Outwardly ſolutio continui*, a *cut* or *Wound*, whereby the fleſh is broken and divided. Every ſuch a *Breach* or *Fraction*, in what part ſoever it be, it is a *Maladie*, a *Diſ-*

שבריה

Confringere שבר Contritio שבר

eaſe

eaſe, calling for the help of the *Phyſitian* or *Chirurgion*. Theſe are *Corporall* Breaches. Or be it,

Secondly, In the *Oeconomical* Body, or *Family*, Breaches, whether in the *Head*, betwixt the *Governours*, thoſe unhappy jars betwixt *man* and *wife*, dividing thoſe whom *God* hath made *One*: or betwixt the *Members*, Diſſenſions of *Brethren*, too frequent, or the diſagreements of *Servants*, all hurtfull and prejudiciall to the familie: *Domeſticall* Breaches. Or be it,

Thirdly, in the *Politicall* body, the *Common-wealth*. Breaches made upon it, by open hoſtilitie from *forraigne* enemies, or elſe in it, by *homebred* diviſions and diſſentions, whether betwixt the *Prince* and *Subiects*, or betwixt *Subiects* themſelves, all endangeting the ſtate of a Kingdome. *Politicall* Breaches. Or be it,

Fourthly, In the *Eccleſiaſticall* Body, the *Church*, Breaches in or about matters of *Religion*. *Sects*, *Schiſmes*, *Hereſies*, rending and rearing the *Seamleſſe Coate of* Chriſt, the Church. *Eccleſiaſticall* Breaches.

Of all, and every of theſe I may truly ſay, that they are *Diſeaſes*, and that dangerous ones; How dangerous, I ſhall forbeare to ſhew you for the preſent, reſerving that for the latter part of the *Text*, to which properly it belongeth.

This is the *diſeaſe* which *David* here ſpeaketh of, and complaineth of; And this was *Iſraels* diſeaſe; That is the *mark* which my eye is upon at the preſent. *Heale the Breaches* (*thereof*) *viz.* Of the *Land*, the *Land* of *Iſrael*.

Even

Even Israel is subiect to Breaches, that is the conclusion which from hence I take up: *Even Israel is subiect to Breaches*. Such was with the *Literall* and *Typicall Israel*, *Davids* Kingdome, so it may be with *Spirituall*, *Mysticall Israel*, the Kingdome of Christ, the *church* of God upon Earth: Hereof was *Israel* a type. *Davids* Kingdome a type of *Christs* Kingdome, the Church upon Earth; resembling it both in the *King* of it, and *Subiects* of it, and *State* of it.

Israel is subject to Breaches.

Israel a Type of the Church in three particulars.

1. For the *King* and *Head* of it; *David* a type of Christ, and a lively type, thence is it that *Christ* is sometimes called by the name of *David*. *They shall seeke the Lord their God* (saith the Prophet *Hosea*, speaking of the Israelites, the Iewes) *and David their King*. *i.e.* Christ, who as he was of the *seed of David*, the sonne of David, so he was most clearely and lively represented, and resembled by *David*. To touch upon the particular Resemblances betwixt them, (as it is besides the Text so) it would swallow up more time then for the present I have to spare.

1. The King & Head.

3 Hos. v. last.

Secondly, For the *subiects* of it; they were *Israelites*, a people that were in *covenant* with God, carrying the *seale* of that *covenant*, (the *signe of circumcision*) in their *flesh*; an *holy people*, professing *sanctitie* and *holinesse*. And such are the *subiects* of *Christs* Kingdome, the true members of the Church visible; they are Israelites; *Behold an Israelite*: such by *profession*; a people in *covenant* with God, partaking of the *seals* of the *covenant*, a *holy people*, called to holinesse, *Saints by calling*, professing *sanctitie* and *holinesse*.

2. Subjects.

1 Ioh. 47.

Thirdly,

3. State. Thirdly, for the *state* of it; *Davids* Kingdome was still in a *militant* condition for the most part; and so is the Kingdome of Christ, his Church upon Earth, a *militant* Church; where Christ *ruleth* Psal. 110. 2. *and raigneth in the midst of his Enemies.*

Thus was Israel a *Type* of the Church, the one *literall*, the other *Mysticall* Israel. And both these shall we finde subject unto *Breaches*. *Typicall* Israel was; *Mysticall* Israel, the Church may be; the *Text* makes good the former, let me shew you the latter, and for the demonstrating of it, cleare unto you these two things.

1. *What Breaches they are which Israel, the church, is so subiect to.*

Secondly, *How it cometh to passe that it should be so subiect to these Breaches.*

qu. 1. What Breaches the church is subject to.

For the former, *What Breaches they are that the church of God upon earth is so subiect to?*

Ans. Cleared from the Type.

For answer hereunto, give me leave to reflect upon the *type*, and enquire what were *Israels* Breaches which *David* here complaineth of. In making this enquirie, I will not go out of this Psalme wherof the *Text* is part, in the latter part whereof *David* doth tacitly insinuate unto us what were those *Breaches* whereof he complayneth in the former. They were of two sorts:

Israels Breaches of two sorts. *Homebred*, *Foraigne*,

Homebred, intestine and civill *Breaches*, made and caused by some of the *Israelites* themselves. *Foraigne*, made by those who were open, and professed enemies to their Kingdome, and Religion.

1. For

1. For the former. There was as yet a strong partie in *Israel*, which after the death of *Ishbosheth* cleaved to the house of *Saul*, not acknowledging *David* for their King, but were ready upon all occasions to raise new tumules, and commotions, thereby seeking to shake off the yoake of *Davids* government. The chiefe and principall places, wher this seditious party had their residence, and abode, were those which the Psalmist mentioneth in the sixth and seventh verses of the *Psalme*. viz. *Shechem*, *Succoth*, *Gilead*, *Manasseh*. *Shechem*, a Citie in the tribe of *Ephraim*. *Succoth*, a Citie in the tribe of *Gad*. *Gilead* and *Manasseh*, the utmost borders of the Land of *Canaan*, beyond *Iorden*. These were some of the chiefe places which sided with *Ishbosheth* whilest he lived, as you may see, 2. *Sam.* 2. and (as it seemeth) they still cleaved to the house of *Saul* after he was dead, not acknowledging *David* for their King. So much *David* himselfe here insinuates, *I shall divide Shechem &c. i.e.* have a full possession of it and the rest, which as yet he had not. These were intestine and *Homebred Breaches* made by some of the *Israelites* themselves.

Homebred made by Israelites.

Iosh. 20. 7. Iosh. 13. 27.

2 Sam. 2. 8

Secondly, Besides these (in the second place) *David* and his Kingdom had many *foraigne enemies*; open and professed enemies, not onely to *David* & his *House*; but to the whole Kingdome of *Israel*. Such were the *Moabites*, *Edomites*, *Philistines*, of whom you have mention, *ver.* 8. *Moab shall be my Wash-pott, &c. Moab*, the land, or people of the *Moabites*, borderers upon the land of *Israel*, that incestuous progenie, begotten by *Lot* in his drunkennesse

Foraigne made by Enemies.

Genes. 19. 33. &c.

Num. 25. 1, 3. Judg. 3. 12 kennesse upon one of his own daughters, who having forsaken the true God, they were also enemies to his people *Israel*. *Edom*, or *Idumea*, the *Edomites*, the posteritie of *Esau*, who for that prophane act of his in barring away his birth-right for a *messe* of *red pottage* was called *Edom*, *i. e. redd*. These also were *enemies*, imbittered and inveterate enemies against *Israel*; so *David* letteth them forth *Psal.* 137. *Philistia*, or *Palestina*, the *Philistines*, *Chams* cursed posteritie, open and professed enemies to *Israel* (*Shems* progenie) as appeares in diverse places. All these *Nations* they were afterward subdued and conquered by *David*, and in assured confidence of this conquest, *David* here triumphs aforehand; *Moab shall be my washpot, over Edom will I cast out my shoe.*

Ge. 25. 30 Psa. 137. 7 Gen. 15. 6. 14.

But as yet they stood out, upon all occasions ready to make incursions and invasions upon *Israel*, which also frequently they did, to the great disturbing and indangering of that Kingdome. Put these together, and you see the Breaches to which the *typicall Israel*, *Davids* Kingdome, was subjected. And in these may you see what are the *Breaches* which the *spirituall Israel*, the Church of God upon earth is subject.

The Church subject to like Breaches.

Breaches from *without*, and breaches from *within*. I will invert the order. From *without*, by open *persecution*; from within, by intestine and home-bred *Divisions*. Of both these the Church of God in all ages hath had sufficient experience: looke we upon the *primitive* times, during the infancy of the Church, however the *foundest* and entirest Church that ever was, yet how was it *broken*? broken as by

2. Foraigne, by Persecution.

foraigne

forraigne persecutions, so by homebred divisions. Both these wayes was the Church during the Apostles times broken, distressed by *Enemies* from *without*, who persecuted it. So was the *Church at Hierusalem* broken, in that great persecution, wherein *Paul* was an *actor*, *Stephen* a *Martyr*, many of the Saints sufferers, who thereupon were dispersed and scattered, as you may see *Acts* 8. there might the Church have taken up the words of the *Psalmist*, in the first verse of this Psalme; *O God thou hast cast us off, thou hast scattered us*. Thus was the *Church at Antioch* broken in that persecution raised by the *Jewes*, irritating and stirring up *devout* and *honourable women* with the *chiefe men of the citie*, against the Christians, wherein *Paul* himselfe was to suffer: to let passe divers other. Acts 8. 1. Act. 13. 50.

The Churches being thus broken by persecution from enemies without, they were also broken by *divisions* and *distractions* from *within*: their owne *members* being *divided*, and severed in their *judgements*, in their *affections*. This fire it began to smoke betimes, as you may see in that *first Church*, the Church at *Hierusalem*, kindled by a little sparkle, a small neglect, through the want of convenient *Church-officers*. *There arose a murmuring of the Grecians against the Hebrewes, because their widowes were neglected in the daily ministration*. Afterwards it broke forth into more open flames, hot and eager contests, and that about divers points; as namely about *circumcision*, whether necessary or no: no small dissention about it betwixt *Paul* and *Barnabas*, and certaine *beleevers of Judah*, who made a journey Acts 6. 1.

2. Hombred by divisions.

The Church rent during the Apostles time.

Acts 15. 1,2. journey to *Antioch* (as it seemeth) to vent their tenents, and to undertake a dispute about it. After this (to let passe perfoualls differences which fell in betwixt their *Teachers* themselves, as *viz.* that betwixt *Paul* and *Barnabas* are sharpe contentions, and *Paul* and *Peter*:) how were the people in some of the Churches divided? divided in particular about their *Teachers*. Instance in that Church of *Corinth*, where the members thereof were divided into *Sects*, some were *Paulites*, others *Apolloites*, a third *Cephites*, a fourth *Christians*; so divided and broken into *sects*, and that about their *Teachers*, after whose names they affected to be called. In the same Church we shall finde other *Breaches*; the members thereof being divided againe (as probably about their *Gestures* in the publike *worship* and *service* of God, so) about the doctrine and manner of administring the Sacrament of the *Lords Supper*, as it may be collected from that 1 *Cor.* 11. where the Apostle both censures those differences amongst them, and for the rectifying of them reduceth them to the *first institution*. Such *Breaches* were there made *in* and *upon* the Church during the time of the Apostles themselves.

Acts 15. 39 Gal. 2. 14.

1 Cor. 3. 3,4.

1 Cor. 11. 22,23.

After their departure torne.

After their departure these Breaches were more and greater. In the three first Centuries how was the Church of Christ rent and torne, partly by *Lyons*, partly by *wolves*? By *Lyons*, such as *Nero*, Saint *Pauls Lyon* was; cruell and bloudy persecutours, putting the Church into *blood*; powring so much blood at the root of this *Vine*, as hath made it the more fruitfull ever since. Of these *bruches*

By Lyons 2 Tim. 4. 17.

Histories

Histories usually mention ten as most remarkable. The ten *primitive persecutions* under those *Romish Heathenish* Emperours. Thus was it torne by *Lyons*.

As by *Lyons* so by *wolves*. So Saint *Paul* foretold that it should be; *I know that after my departure shall grievous Wolves enter in amongst you, not sparing the flocke.* He spake it of false Prophets and hereticall Teachers, which with their pernicious errours, schismes and heresies should even rend and teare the flocke of Christ, the Church. And accordingly it came to passe, as the Histories of those times sufficiently testifie. Never was the Church more rent and torne by *Heresies* and *Schismes*, then in those next ages after the Apostles: within the compasse of the first 400. yeeres, there being little lesse then an hundred of them of note, as they are collected and computed out of those two ancient Doctors *Epiphanius* and *Augustine*. So fruitfull was the Church then in *breaches*. Broken by *heathenish persecutions*, broken by various *divisions* and *distractions*: and such hath bin the condition of it ever since; even in the purest and quietest times never free from *breaches*: in some parts persecuted, in others distracted. That it *hath* bin so, is out of doubt, which maketh good the Assertion that it *may* be so. *Israel is subject to breaches.*

By wolues Act. 20. 29

Danæ. de Hæres.

Q. 2. How the Church cometh to be so subject to these Breaches.

Q. But *how cometh it so to be?* to be subject, so subject as it is?

A. I answer briefly. This is diversly considered: { *Gods doing.* / *Satans doing.* }

Gods doing; who doth it with an eye

Answ.

This is Gods doing, who permits & orders them, with respect,

parts to { *Himselfe.* / *His Church.*

1. To his own glory which is manifested,

1. *With an eye to himselfe*: his owne *glory*; the glory of his *power*, *wisdome*, *goodnesse*; all which are gloriously manifested; as,

In Preserving.

First in the *preserving* and upholding his Church in the midst of all these Breaches: even as the *care* and skill of a *Pilot* is shewne in steering a ship in a stresse, keeping her above-water in the midst of those raging billowes: or as the *wisdome* and valour of a good Commander is shewne in defending the Citie, the wals whereof are full of breaches: so,

In Healing.

Secondly, in *healing* and making up of these *Breaches*; which God sometimes doth in such a way, as he not onely leaves no scar behinde, but maketh the Church a gainer by them. In both these is God glorified: and to these ends doth he *permit* these breaches, which if he would he could hinder; even as our Saviour suffered *Lazarus* to be sicke, to dye (both which he could have hindred) that *the Sonne of man might be glorified* in his Resurrection: *This sicknes is not unto death, but for the glory of God.* So may we say of these diseases in the Church, her Breaches are not mortall, not unto death (*the Church* being a *Body* like unto the *Head* of it, *immortall*) but for the glory of God, that the *Sonne of man*, the *Head* of the Church may be glorified in *preserving* in *Healing* it.

Ioh. 11. 21

Ve. 4.

2. To his Church, viz. for

2. God doth it in the second place, with an eye to his Church, giving way to these Breaches, & that

For, { 1. *Exercising* / 2. *Trying* / 3. *Purging* } of it.

1. *For*

1. *For the exercising of the Church.* Therefore doth he expose it sometimes to open *persecution*, suffering Enemies to *breake in* upon it, and to *break it*; even as the Husbandman *opens* and *breakes the clods of his ground*, rending and rearing it with ploughes and harrowes, as the Prophet *Isai* alludeth. This he doth for the exercise of his Church, which if it lay fallow, would be ready to run wilde and prove unfruitfull. Exercise. Is. 28. 24.

2. *For probation and triall of it.* To make triall of the *Faith* and *Obedience* of his people. To this end the Lord left the *Canaanites* and some other nations, to be as *thornes* and *pricks* in the *eyes* and *sides* of the *Israelites*, not driving them out before *Joshuah* as he had done the rest, that *through them he might prove Israel, whether they would keepe the way of the Lord, to walke therein*, as you have it 2 *Judg.* And to this end (amongst other) he suffers his Church to be pierced, rent and torne, as by persecutions, so by *schismes* and *heresies*, *viz.* for the trying and manifesting of those which are approved: *There must be heresies* or *sects*, saith *Paul* to his *Corinthians*; *oportet*, There *must* be; Why? *That they which are approved, may be made manifest.* Of such use were those civill dissentions in the Kingdome of Israel betwixt *David* and *Ishbosheth*, thereby it was manifested who they were which cleaved to the *house of Saul*, and who to the *House of David*. And such use God maketh of the Breaches and Divisions in his Church; hereby he discovers who they are which will cleave unto him & to his *Truth*, and who they are which for by and sinister Tryall. Ioſ. 23. 13. 2 Iudg. 22. 23. 1 Cor. 11. 19.

ſter reſpects will be drawen aſide to follow after *errour*. Hereby God maketh a *Diſcoverie*; diſcovering men to others; I, and ſometimes diſcovering them to themſelves, making them hereby to know the rottenneſſe or ſinceritie of their own hearts, whether they have followed Chriſt for *Love*, or no.

Purging. Thirdly, *for the purging of the Church*. Even as by thoſe *Commotions* in the upper region of the Ayre, thunderings and lightnings, rending and tearing the clouds; with thoſe in the lower Region, ſtormes and tempeſts, the ayre it ſelf is purged, and cleanſed from many noxious vapours, which otherwiſe would anoy the inhabitants: Even ſo by theſe commotions, and combuſtions in the Church, God purgeth a great deal of corruption out of it. This is
Mat. 3. 12. one of the *fans* in the hand of Chriſt, whereby he dreſſeth his corne, and *purgeth his floore*, (his Church,) freeing his truth from a great deal of chaffe, and droſſe which is oftimes mingled with it. Thus this is Gods *doing*: and,

2. Satans doing, who hath an hand in al theſe Breaches, thereby In the ſecond place it is *Satans doing*, who hath ever an hand in thoſe *Breaches* which God permits and orders. So had he in the great *Breach* which was made upon Iſrael, through *Davids* ſin in numbring the people. This happened not without a divine *permiſſion*, and *ordination*; whence it is ſaid,
2 Sam. 24 1. that *God moved David againſt Iſrael*, yet Satan had an hand in it, being the immediate inſtigator of *David* unto that ſin, which made the *Breach*, whereat
1 Chro. 21. 1. that judgement brake in; and thence we finde it elſe where attributed to Satan; *Satan ſtood up againſt Iſrael*

Iſrael &c. Which latter text explaynes the former. There is not a Breach that is made in, or upon the Church, whether it be by open *Perſecution*, or home-bred *Diſſenſion*, but Satan hath an hand in it. So had he in all thoſe Breaches which were made in, and upon the Primitive Churches. Thoſe perſecutions were from him. The *great red Dragon* in the Revelation, he *perſecuted the woman*; Thoſe perſecutions wherewith the Church was broken under thoſe heatheniſh Emperours untill the time of *Conſtantine* the great, that *man-childe* there ſpoken of (as ſome expoſitours conceive it,) that *maſculine deliverer*, they were of Satans rayſing. And we may ſay the ſame of thoſe ſchiſmes, hereſies, errours, ſuperſtitions, wherewith the Church in thoſe Primitive and after ages was infeſted and troubled, they were all but the *ſpawne* and *ſeed* of the ſame Serpent. *The Serpent caſt out of his mouth a flood of water after the woman*, ſo you have it verſe fifteen. *A flood of waters*, even that flood of errours and hereſies, as that of *Arrianiſme* and ſome other, which like a *flood* (*a land flood*) had overflowen almoſt the whole world: This *flood* came out of the mouth of that *Serpent*. And ſo hath that deluge of Antichriſtian errours in which the world for many ages together lay ſteeped, and drowned; And we may ſay the ſame of all thoſe leſſer ſtreames of errours, hereſies, ſchiſmes, which have or do infeſt any part of the Church, they are but as ſo many ſmaller brookes or rivolets flowing and ſtreaming from the ſame head; diviſions, diſcenſions in the Church they are ſome of the *tares* ſowen by this

Rev. 12. 13.

ver. 5. Brightman.

Rev. 12. 15.

Mat. 13. 25.

envious man in Gods *field*; which he doth to a clean contrary end then that which God intendeth them for; viz. for the *ruine*, and deſtruction of the Church. To this end the Dragon caſt out that flood of waters after the woman, *that the woman might be carried away of the flood.* To this end doth Satan ſet abroach all theſe pernicious errours in the Church, *that (if poſſible) the very Elect might be deceived*, and ſo the whole Church carried away, either by *ſeduction*, or *deſtruction*. To this end doth he ſowe theſe *tares* of *differences* and *diſſentions*, that they may hinder the groweth of the good corne, the groweth of Religion, as for the moſt part they do: That hereby the Kingdome of Chriſt may be weakned, his own ſtrengthened, which as it was at the firſt founded in, and rayſed by *diviſions*, his dividing betwixt God and man; ſo it is exceedingly promoted, and built up by the ſame meanes, by dividing betwixt men and men. You ſee the truth of the point, *that* it is ſo; you ſee the grounds of it, *why* it is ſo. What *uſe* ſhall we now make hereof unto our ſelves?

Intending the ruine and deſtruction of the Church. Rev. 12. 15. Matth. 24. 24.

Uſe 1. Confutation. Bellarm. de notis Eccle. c. 3. Vnitie, Proſperity no true marks of the Church.

Here, to let fall a ſtone which the text putteth into my hand to caſt at our adverſaries of *Rome*; who amongſt their fifteen notes, or markes of the true viſible Church, lay down theſe for two; *Vnitie*, *Proſperity*: *Vnitie* or *Vnion* of the members under one *viſible head*, and amongſt themſelves: *Proſperity*, outward and temporall felicitie; which if ſo, what ſhall we ſay to the *Church of Iſrael* at this preſent, when *David* complained of ſo many *Breaches* in it? Where was then the union of the

Church

Church under one *viſible head*, when that Kingdom (to which the Church was then confined) was ſo divided betwixt two; ſome cleaving to the houſe of *David*, others to the houſe of *Saul*, yet both making up one viſible Church? Where was the outward *felicitie*, and temporall *Proſperity* of the Church, when the foundations of that Kingdome, and conſequently of the Church, the whole Church, were ſo ſhaken, both by foraigne invaſions, and home-bred ſeditions? But I paſſe by this, leaving them to talke of that, which is not, nor ever yet was to be found amongſt themſelves. What ever may be ſaid for the latter (*Temporall Proſperitie*) ſure we are, as for the former (*Unitie*) it is a thing, which they have no cauſe to boaſt of.

The uſe I intend to make of it, ſhall be onely *to take off the triumph, ſcandall, or diſcouragement*, which any may happilie either *make* or *take*, at the preſent *Breaches* which are to be found amongſt us in this, and the neighbour Kingdom. In the behalf of both theſe we are this day, and at this time aſſembled together, viz. to ſeek God for them, as *David* doth here for *Iſrael*, that *He would heal the Breaches thereof*. *Uſe 2. Infoſmation. Our Breaches no juſt cauſe of triumph, ſcandall, or diſcouragement to any, though made ſo.*

That there are *Breaches* in both, and thoſe very conſiderable ones, but for number, and nature, many and great, ſhaking the very foundations of them, it cannot be denied. And in theſe *Breaches* ſome happily will be ready to *triumph*. So did both the *Edomites*, and *Philiſtines* here ſpoken of, over *Iſraels Breaches*. *Iſraels Breaches were their Triumph*; ſo were they to the *Philiſtines*. *O Philiſtia triumph* *To ſome matter of triumph.*

thou becauſe of me, or over me, ſaith the Pſalmiſt here verſe 3. ſpeaking by way of Ironie, and mockage, bidding them go on in their rejoycing and triumphing over the Church of God, inſulting over her *Breaches* and ruines as they did. The like did the
Obad. 12. *Edomites.* So we may hear the Prophet *Obadiah* charging it upon them, ver. 12. of his prophecie. *Edom looked upon the day of his brother Jacob,* the day of Iſraels affliction, the day wherein *he became a ſtranger*, was carried away captaive. This day the *Edomites* looked upon in a rejoycing way, inſulting over the miſerie of the Church; ſo it followeth, *Edom rejoyced over the children of Juda in the day of their deſtruction, and ſpake proudly (inſultingly) in the day of their diſtreſſe, &c.* with ſuch an eye (no queſtion) do the enemies of God and his Church at this day looke upon the diſtreſſed, diſtracted ſtate, and condition of this and the neighbour nation. *Remiſh Edomites*, thoſe *children of Edom which ſay of our Hieruſalem,* our reformed Re-
Pſal. 137. 7. ligion, *Race it, race it, even to the foundations thereof*; uncircumciſed *Philiſtines*, ſuch as have gone
1. Sam. 5. about to ſet up the *Ark* of God by their *Dagon*, as the Philiſtines once did, to make *Rome* and *England* meet together; I doubt not but they are ready to triumph, and inſult over theſe *Breaches*, which themſelves have made; theſe *diviſions, diſtractions, ſeditions, rebellions*, whereof themſelves are the Authours, and fomenters; hoping that at theſe *Breaches* themſelves ſhall re-enter, ſetting up their ſtandards again upon the Churches battlements; raiſing themſelves upon the Churches *ruines*, which they

they hope these *distractions* do presage.

Others there are to whom these *Breaches* may happily be a matter either of *scandall*, or *discouragement*.

To some of *scandall*, unsetled and unstable Christians, *reeds shaken with the winde*, carried about with every blast. Upon this ground happily they may be brought to scruple and question the truth of our Religion, and so to entertain thoughts of relinquishing it, flying from it, (as some have done) because of some divisions amongst the Professors of it. To some, of scandal. Vid. ep. Dr. Hall to Mr. W. L. Decad. 3. Ep. 5.

To others of *discouragement*; Weak and faint-hearted Christians, who because they cannot at the present see how these *Breaches* should be repaired, and made up, therefore they are ready to yeeld up the City, to give the Church, and cause of Christ in it, for lost; as if the condition thereof were forelorne, and desperate. To some, of discouragement.

Not so: No just grotnd for any of these; whether for *triumph*, *scandall*, *or discouragement*. *Breaches* there are amongst us, it cannot be denied; and those such Breaches as deserve to be lamented with tears of blood: but yet, are they any other then what the Church of God upon earth is subject to? Surely no. It is Saint *Pauls* consolation to his Corinthians touching their *temptations*. *There hath no temptation taken you but such as is common to man.* And the like may I say of these *temptations*, *distractions*, *divisions*, wherewith the Church of God in these parts at this day is exercised, they are no other then what are *common to the Church*, may befall the Church, the No just ground for any of these. 1. Cor. 10. 13.

Israels Breaches and ours compared

true Church of God. To make this good, paralell and compare we the state of the Church in these two Kingdoms with that of *Israel* in *Davids* time, and see, what greater *Breaches* shall we finde in the one then in the other?

In the neighbour nation, the *Trumpet of rebellion* is sounded, the Kingdome divided, put into blood, ingaged in a civill war, by the means of a seditious party of *Romish confederates*, who, under a pretence of vindicating the liberty of their own, seek and indeavour the extirparing, and rooting out the true Religion of God, of late through the mercy of God begun to be planted amongst them, together with all the professours of it. But what is here more to be seen, or heard, then was in Israel at that time when *she had the son of Bichri, a man of Belial, blew a trumpet, and said, we have no part in David, neither have we inheritance in the son of Jesse: every man to his tents O Israel*; whereupon the whole 10. tribes made a present revolt, *following after him*, the tribe of *Judah* onely *cleaving to their King*.

2 Sam. 20 1. 2.

Amongst our selves however (blessed be God, and blessed be his Anointed, and blessed be the multitude of his wise & faithfull Councellours) this fire hath not yet broken forth into such open flames, yet how hath it smoaked? how doth it smoak? To let passe here that late *Breach*, so happily *healed*, and made up, betwixt the two Nations, (at least so some would have had it) which threatned us with the dreadfull judgement of a civill war (of wars the worst.) To let that passe, (which yet we

must

muſt not let paſſe without a thankfull acknowledgement of the *power, wiſdome, goodneſſe* of God manifeſted in making up of that *Breach*; not onely healing it without a *skar*, but bringing a more firme *union* out of it.) As alſo to forbear the mention of thoſe late *Breaches* made both upon *Church*, and *ſtate* among our ſelves. Breaches made upon the *eſtates* of men, upon the *liberties* of *ſubjects*, the *bodies*, nay the *ſouls* and *conſcientes* of *Chriſtians*, which through the goodneſſe of God inclining the heart of his *Anointed* to hearken to his great *Councell of ſtate* are in part already repaired and made up. Beſides theſe, other *Breaches* there are which yet lye upon us. Breaches in the *Church* & Breaches in the *ſtate*; both in meaſure ſtill rent and torne, diſtracted, and divided. I ſhall not need to name particulars, which are too obvious to every vulgar eye. But in all theſe what is here more then was to be found in Iſrael at that time when the whole *land* was *ſhaken*, that Kingdome divided betwixt the two Houſes of *Saul* and *David*; ſome ſiding with the one, others with the other; taking of parts to the great indangering of the ſtate, of the Church therein? True it is, the enemies of our peace are many. Beſides a dangerous party at home of ſuch as do (in their hearts and affections at leaſt) cleave to the *Houſe of Saul*, the *old Houſe* as they falſly call it) *Papiſts*, and others popiſhly affected, togeth er with a *Malignant party* of *malecontents*, perſons ill affected to Church and ſtate; beſides theſe, it cannot be thought but that we have enemies abroad; enemies to our Religion we are ſure, many of them

vaſſals

vaſſals to that *Man of ſinne*, that *Antichriſt of Rome*, who (as they at the preſent inſult over our *breaches*, ſo) if occaſion were offered, we cannot thinke but that they would be ready to breake in at them. But herein againe, what is our condition other then *Iſraels* was at this time when *David* penned this Pſalme, when beſides that *ſeditious* party amongſt themſelves they had alſo many foraigne enemies; enemies both to their Kingdome and Religion, and that almoſt on every ſide: *Moabites, Edomites, Philiſtines*; *Moabites* and *Edomites* on the *Eaſt*; *Philiſtines* on the *weſt*. Thus paralelling our condition with Iſraels, we finde no great oddes of *breaches* betwixt them; not more in the one then was in the other.

No cauſe of triumph to our adverſaries. Mic. 7. 8.

And therefore (to draw towards a concluſion of this point and exerciſe.) In the firſt place, let not our adverſaries triumph over our *breaches*; *Rejoyce not againſt me O mine enemy*. Or, if they will, let them triumph; *Triumph thou O Philiſtia becauſe of me* or *over me*. Let our adverſaries of Rome and their adherents, the ſedicious and ill affected party amongſt our ſelves, triumph and lift up their heads, inſulting over our *breaches*: in the meane time we could tell them of their owne *breaches*, and enquire of them where their *Unitie* was when their Church was divided betwixt two *viſible Heads* at once, (two *Popes* I meane,) both ſet up, and both ruling at the ſame time, the one in *Italie*, the other in *France*; the one at *Rome*, the other at *Avignion*: a conſiderable number of *Cardinals* and *Prelates* ſiding and taking part with either of them. Then was the

Whoſe Breaches are not leſſe then ours.

ſtate

ſtate of their Church like that of Iſrael, when after the death of *Saul* ſome ſided with *David*, others with *Iſhboſheth*. We could minde them of their own preſent *diviſions*, which long have, and ſtill do diſtract that Church of theirs; which howſoever they (having more of the *Serpent*, and being *wiſer in their generations then the children of Light*,) carry more cloſely, with leſſe noiſe, (wherein I wiſh we could imitate them,) yet are they both for nature, and number ſo conſiderable, as that it ſhould make them aſhamed either to boaſt of *Unity* amongſt themſelves, or to inſult over the *Breaches* of others. One of their own modeſtly tels us of 20. ſeverall *ſchiſmes* amongſt them. Another, their great *Cardinall Bellarmin* by name (to the everlaſting glory of their Churches unity,) ingenuouſly acknowledgeth no leſſe then 237. *differences*, or *contrarieties in Doctrine* amongſt their own *Divines*. But theſe we paſſe by, contenting our ſelves with this; this was *Iſraels* condition, and it may be the condition of the true Church of God, to be *divided, diſtracted*, no matter of *triumph* to them.

Luk. 16. 8.

Genebrard.

Nor yet, in the ſecond and third place, of *ſcandall* or *diſcouragement* to others.

No cauſe of ſcandall.

Not of *ſcandall*: What though the *naturall body* of Chriſt be *pierced, rent, torne*, with *thornes, nailes*, the *ſpear* of the ſouldier? yet let none be offended at it. *Bleſſed is he* (ſaith our Saviour) *whoſoever ſhall not be offended in me*: What though the *miſticall body* of Chriſt, the Church be pierced, rent and torne, pierced with the *ſpear of perſecution*, rent and torne, with the *thornes and nailes* of home-

Mat. 11. 6.

bred *diviſions* and *diſſentions*? let none be offended at it. Nor yet

Diſcouraged by it. The *naturall Body* of Chriſt, for all it was ſo pierced, rent, and torne; yet it roſe again the third day. They are not all the *rents*, *breaches*, *diviſions*, *diſtractions* in the *miſticall body* of Chriſt, the Church, that ſhall hinder the *reſurrection* of it. The Church in *Hoſea* complains, that the Lord had *torne* her, and *ſmitten* her; Yet mark what followeth, *After two dayes he will revive us, in the third day he will raiſe us up, and we ſhall live in his ſight.* God hath at the preſent done the like by this, and the neighbour Nation, *ſmitten* the one, *torne* the other: *Smitten* the one with the ſword of a Civill, but Barbarous and Savage enemy: *Torne* the other, with unhappy differences and diſtractions; yet let not either of theſe diſcourage: He that hath *torne* us, he can *heal* us: He that hath *ſmitten* us, he can *binde* us up; and this (we truſt) in mercy he will yet do. It is the ſpeech (I remember) of the wife of *Manoah* to her husband; *If the Lord had had a purpoſe to deſtroy us, he would not have received a burnt-offering, and a meat-offering at our hands, neither would he have ſhewed us all theſe things.* And let us in an holy confidence ſay the like, touching the Church of God in this, and the neighbour Kingdoms: Had God had a purpoſe to haue caſt us off from being a Church, from being a people, to have *unchurch'd* us, to have taken his Goſpel from us, ſurely he would never have *accepted our offerings*, our *prayers*, and the prayers of his people amongſt us, which we

Or diſcouragement to weake chriſtians. Hoſ. 6. 1, 2.

Good hopes that God will heal our Breaches. Iude 13. 23.

are

are aſſured he hath done, having given us moſt gracious & comfortable *returnes* of them, aſſured evidences of their acceptation: Neither would he ever have *ſhewed us all theſe things.* Diſcovered and confounded ſo many plots, ſo many trecheries and conſpiracies of our adverſaries, ſtill turning their councels upon their own heads; carrying the great councell of the Kingdom through ſo many (to fleſh and blood) inſuperable difficulties: Nor yet would he have begun to repair and make up our Breaches, ſo as in part already he hath done, and (we hope) is doing. Do we ſee one beſtowing coſt upon an old garment, in darning up the holes, drawing up the rents, making up the *Breaches* in it; we thereupon conjecture, ſurely it is not his intent as yet to caſt it off, and to lay it aſide. Surely (beloved) ſuch have been Gods dealings with us, (ſpecially of this Kingdom) of late, as that we may ſay that they are, at leaſt ſeem to be, ſweet intimations of a gracious purpoſe and intention towards us: Onely in this will the Lord be ſought. And for this, let every of us ſeek him, that it may not repent him of the good which he hath ſeemed to intend towards us, but that he would returne, and *come unto us with healing in his* wings; coming unto us as the *Spouſe* deſireth that her *Beloved* might come unto her, *Like a Roe, or a yong Hart upon the mountains of Bether*, the *mountains of diviſion*, as the word ſignifieth. In his own time (which let not us preſcribe) *healing* and *making up all our breaches.* This is Davids *Prayer* for *Iſrael* in the text: And for this

Mal. 4. 2. Cant. 2. and laſt.

Let us pray.

ISRAELS CURE.

The ſecond SERMON.

March 2°.

PSAL. 60. Verſ. 2.

Heale the Breaches thereof, for it is ſhaken.

Publick Faſt.

UPon this Text, I made an entrance the laſt day, being then led unto it by that * Solemn occaſion: We brake it into two parts,

Davids { *Requeſt.* / *Reaſon.*

In the former of theſe, we tooke notice of three particulars.

Iſraels { *Diſeaſe.* / *Cure.* / *Phiſitian.*

Upon the firſt of theſe we then inſiſted. Come we now to the ſecond, viz. *Iſraels Cure.*; which is the *healing of her Breaches. Heale the Breaches thereof.*

Explic. what meant by Healing.

To *Heale*, properly you know what it is, *viz.* do

do a Cure upon the Body in healing the ſickneſſes or ſores thereof, whether in an *ordinary* way, by naturall means, Medicines, or Salves, as the Phiſitian or Chirurgion doth, or in an *extraordinary* and miraculous way, without means, as our Saviour and his Apoſtles did, who cured all manner of diſeaſes only by their *a word*, *b touch*, *c garments*, *d ſhadow*. From the *naturall* body, it is transferred to the *Politicall*, or *Eccleſiaſticall* Bodie in a Kingdome, the *Common-wealth*, the *Church*. The remedying of the evills whereof, is ſometime in phraſe of Scripture called an *Healing*. *If my people ſhall humble themſelves, and pray*, (ſaith the Lord) *I will heale their Land*, *i. e.* Redreſſe and remedy the evills which lye upon it: *Heale the breaches thereof*, ſaith the Text, *i. e.* Repaire them, make them up. This it is that *David* here prayeth for; and

a 107. Pſ. 20. Math. 8. 8.
b Math. 8. 3. 15.
c Math. 9. 20. Luk. 8. 44. Act. 19. 12
d Acts 5. 15.
2 Chr. 7. 14.

Doct. The Healing of the Churches breaches, ſhould be the deſire of every Chriſtian.

This ſhould every true Iſraelite deſire and ſeek after, The healing, repayring, making up of Iſraels breaches. It was the firſt work that *Nehemiah* and the reſt of the *Jewes* did after their returne from Captivity; they ſet upon the *repairing* of the *walls of Jeruſalem*, which they began, as you may ſee in the 3. chap. of *Nehem.* and finiſhed chap. 6. not giving over, till there was *no breach found therein*, as you have it verſ. 1. of that 6. chap. What they did for the *Typicall*; this ought all true *Iſraelites* do for the *Spirituall Myſticall Jeruſalem*, the Church of God upon earth, *viz.* ſeeke and endeavour what they can, the *building* up the *walls*, the *repairing* the *breaches* thereof. This is *Davids*

Neh. c. 3. c. 6. Verſe 1.

Pſal. 51. 18. prayer elſewhere, *Lord, build up the walls of Jeruſalem: Jeruſalem* the *Metropolis*, both *Civill* and *Eccleſiaſticall* of that Kingdome, the Head Citie of *Iſrael*, a Type of the Church viſible; For this *David* prayeth, that God would *build up the walls* thereof, repayre the *breaches* thereof; reſtoring to it, and eſtabliſhing in it *Peace*, and *Proſperitie*. And what himſelfe doth, he ſtirreth up others to do the like: *Pray for the peace of Jeruſalem, i. e.* for the publicke tranquility and happineſſe of the Church; for the *continuance* of it, if enjoyed; for the *reſtoring* of it, if wanted; that it may not be troubled, whether *without*, by perſecuting Tyrants putting it into bloud; or *within*, by Schiſmes, and Hereſies, rending and rearing of it. Theſe are the *breaches* of the Church (as I have ſhewed you in the former Point) and both theſe every true *Iſraelite* ſhould deſire to have healed, repaired, made up; that ſo there may be *Peace within her walls, and Proſperity* (or *quietneſſe*) *within her Pallaces*, as it followeth verſ. 7. of that 122. *Pſalm.*

Pſal. 122. 6.

Reaſ. 1. All members of the ſame body

And great reaſon for it, why Chriſtians ſhould thus deſire and endeavour the *healing of Iſraels breaches*, they being all *members of that myſtical body: ye are the body of Chriſt*, and *members in particular*, ſaith the Apoſtle to his *Corinthians*. The *Church* the *body*, all true Chriſtians *Members* of that Bodie; and being ſo, they ſhould have a ſimpathie with the whole. So is it in the *naturall body*; If the body be wounded, or hurt in any part of it, there is never a part but is ſenſible of it: If the *foot* be wounded, the *eye* ſeeth it, the *heart* feeleth it, the *tongue* com-

1 Cor. 12. 27.

complains of it, the *hand* is ready to apply ſalves and Plaiſters to it, for the healing of it. So ſhould it be in the *Myſticall bodie*, and ſo it will be. If the Church be wounded, rent, torn, the *eye* of a true *Iſraelite* being a living member of that body, ſeeing it, his *heart* cannot but be affected with it, his *tongue* will be ready to complain of it unto God, his *hand* will be readie to apply ſuch healing remedies as God ſhall put into it. Chriſtian affection in the hearts of Chriſtians, it both ſhould, and will encline them to ſeek the *Cure of Iſraels breaches.*

Take a ſecond Reaſon, and that fetcht from the *Nature of theſe breaches*, which are *Reaſ.* 2.

{ 1. *Unſeemly.*
{ 2. *Dangerous.*

1. *Unſeemly*, not unlike a rent or *breach* in a Garment; which, becauſe uncomely, we will therefore get drawn, ſowne up: Or like a *Hare-lip* in a good face; which, though it be not a *ſore*, yet becauſe it is an *eye-ſore*, a blemiſh, we will therfore (if poſſible) get healed. Upon this ground ſhould Chriſtians ſeek the *healing of Iſraels breaches.* They are an *eye-ſore*, a blemiſh in this myſticall body. It was the outward *Beauty* of the Typicall *Jeruſalem*, that the buildings thereof were *contiguous*, and *uniforme*. *Jeruſalem is builded as a Citie that is compact together.* Jun. & a ſibi ſimul, as *Montanus* renders the Originall; the Houſes not ſcattered, but joyning together. Even as it was with the *Curtains of the Tabernacle*, which were *of one meaſure* (ſaith the Text) *and coupled together.* Surely it is a peece of the viſible Churches viſible *beauty*, Breaches in the Church unſeemly. Pſal. 122. 3. Exod. 26. 2, 3.

beautie, her *unitie*, her *breaches*, her *diviſions* make the leaſt of them, make the beſt of them, they are a blemiſh, an eye-ſore; I, ſuch an eye-ſore, as *friends* cannot behold without *grief*, *enemies* with *triumph*, *Neuters* with *ſcandall*. And being ſo, were there no other reaſon; Chriſtians ſhould ſeek the *Healing* of them. But beſides this,

Dangerous, being

2. In the ſecond place, theſe *Breaches* are *dangerous*. Dangerous to the Church; and that two wayes, being

1. *Diſadvantagious to her.*
2. *Advantagious to her enemies.*

Diſadvantagious to the Church.

1. *To her diſadvantagious.* In that, like *Domeſticall Breaches* in a Family, which are great hinderances to all the buſineſſe in it; whether *Civill*, or *Religious*; for the moſt part hindring the groweth both of *Grace*, and *Eſtate*. So prejudiciall and detrimentall are theſe Breaches to the State of the Church, hindering the groweth of it, the increaſe of it. This *Myſticall bodie* being *joyned*, *compacted* and *knit together*, it *increaſeth with the increaſe*
2 Col.19. *of God*, ſaith Saint *Paul* to his *Coloſſians*; *It maketh increaſe to the edifying of it ſelfe in love*, ſaith the
Eph.4.16 ſame Apoſtle to his *Epheſians*. On the other hand, being divided, rent, and torne, it withereth, wanzeth, it groweth not.

Note. Not but that God can, and ſometimes doth bring *good* out of this *evill*, *light* out of this *darkeneſſe*; making the *truth* (which is but *one*) a gainer by *diviſion*, improving *diſtractions* to the Churches benefit. But this is by accident, no thanks to theſe diviſions, diſtractions, for this *gain*;

which

which being enemies to *Unitie*, they are in their own nature no friends to the *Truth*, no friends to the *Church*, but enemies to it: Enemies hindering the *growth* of it; nay, threatning the *ruine* of it. Our Saviour hath ſayd it of a *Kingdome*, an *Houſe if divided againſt themſelves, they cannot ſtand.* Theſe Breaches in the Church, are like *wounds* in the bodie, though not all *mortall*, yet in their own nature *deſtructive*, (as I ſhall ſhew you (God willing) in the latter part of the Text) *ſhaking* the Church, as well as hindering it. And in this reſpect, Chriſtians who bear good will to *Iſrael*, wiſh well to the Church, ſhould ſeeke the *Cure*, the *Healing* of them; they are *diſadvantagious* to the Church. Marke 3. 24, 25.

And Secondly, *Advantagious to her enemies.* In this, like *Breaches* made in the walls of a Citie, which are an In-let to the Enemie, giving him the advantage of entring, and taking poſſeſſion, if they be not either repaired, or looked to. Of ſuch dangerous conſequence are theſe *Breaches* in the Church, they are *In-lets to the Adverſary.* Advantagious to her Enemies.

In-lets (in the firſt place) to *Sathan*, that comon Adverſarie; who by theſe *breaches*, breaks in upon the Church; as by *domeſticall breaches*, he breaks in upon a Family, hindering the affaires of it.

In-lets (in the ſecond place) to the *Inſtruments of Sathan, Falſe-Teachers, Seducers*; who make great advantage of theſe Breaches, to let in their owne pernicious errors by them: Even as by the *Grecian Horſe*, that fatall Engine was let and drawn in, by that Breach which the *Trojans* themſelves

ſelves had made in their owne Walls, to the overthrow of their Citie. So *dangerous* are theſe *breaches*; *diſadvantagious* to the *Church*, *advatagious* to her *Enemies*: Great cauſe why Chriſtians ſhould deſire, and endeavour the *Cure*, the *Healing* of them.

Dwell we no longer upon *Confirmation*, or *Illuſtration*: It is a truth (I ſuppoſe) which in *Theſi*, in the generall, will eaſily be granted, and yeelded at all hands. That which I principally ayme at, is the *practicall part*, the bringing it home, the ſetting it on by way of *Application*, which I ſhall direct theſe two ways; By way of

{ *Reprehenſion.*
{ *Exhortation.*

Uſe 1. Repreheſion. By way of *Reprehenſion*, is this; The duty and practiſe of every true *Iſraelite*, to ſeeke the *Healing of Iſraels breaches*; What then,

1. To breach makers. In the ſtate. In the firſt place, ſhall we ſay to them, who inſtead of *Healing*, *make them?* *Breach-makers*; whether in the *Church*, or *State*. To let paſſe the latter of theſe: *State-Incendiaries*, ſuch as have troubled and diſtracted the *Politicke State* of this Kingdome, for their own private ends and advantages, that they might have the better fiſhing in theſe troubled waters.

Them I referre, together with the *Cure* of thoſe *breaches* by them made, to that wiſe and venerable *Colledge* of *State Phiſitians*, at the preſent aſſembled to that purpoſe. The Breaches which my eye is principally upon, are *Iſraels breaches*; Breaches in the Church, ſpecially thoſe wherewith the

Church

Church in this Kingdome is diſtracted, and torne. And here give me leave briefly to tax, and cenſure thoſe which have been, or are either the *makers*, or *maintainers* of them, whether *Principalls*, or *Acceſſaries*. In the Church.

Q. But who are they?

A. For Anſwer, I ſhall have recourſe to the Type; who were they which made theſe *breaches* in *Iſrael*, which the Pſalmiſt here complains of? I have ſhowen you it already. They were either *ſtrangers*, or *Iſraelites*. *Strangers*, Enemies to their Kingdom, and Religion, *Moabites*, *Edomites*, *Philiſtines*, or elſe *Iſraelites*, that factious, ſeditious party, which cleaved to the House of *Saul*, and ſo were enemies to the Houſe of *David*. Paralell hereunto, behold we alſo in our *Iſrael* two ſorts of *Breach-makers*: Who they are, cleared from the Type. Breach-makers amongſt us (as in Iſrael) of two ſorts.

{ *Strangers.*
{ *Iſraelites.*

Firſt, Begin with the former. *Strangers*; I mean ſtrangers, and Enemies to our Religion: Such as though they be amongſt us; yet they are not of us, *Papiſts*, and perſons Popiſhly affected. Amongſt whom, how ever I cannot think, but that there are ſome blindly zealous, poor miſ-guided ſouls, who follow after their *Iſhboſheth*, or *Adonijah*, with *ſimplicity of heart*, and ſo are both more quiet and innocent; Yet others amongſt them there are, and that many, very active and practicall in this worſt piece of *Arithmatick*, which they ſtudy more than anvother *Diviſion*. Dividing of *Houſes*, *Cities*, *Parliaments*, *Kingdoms*, *States*, *Churches*; Setting *Subjects* 1. Strangers enemies to our Religion, Papiſts, &c.

againſt *Subjects*. In this *Helliſh Art*, how many famous (I ſhould ſay infamous) Practitioners have there been amongſt them in all Ages? Witneſſe the Hiſtories of the late and frequent *Iriſh Rebellions*; Some of them *Maſters* in that Science, *Profeſſours* in it. Thoſe *devoted and profeſſed Incendiaries*, the *Jeſuites*, and their ſchollers, *Helliſh Engineers*, who make it their work to be continually laying of *Trains*, and ſpringing of *Mines*, for the blowing up the *gates* and *wals* of our *Jeruſalem*, endeavouring to make *Breaches* therin, that themſelves and their party may re-enter and take poſſeſſion. It was the ſpeech of the *Syrians*, and others their Confederates: *Let us go up againſt Judah and vex it, and let us make a breach therein for us.* What they determined againſt *Judah*, that do theſe *Romiſh Confederates* practiſe againſt our *Iſrael*; continually *vexing us by their wiles* (as the *Midianites* did *Iſrael*) ſeeking to *make a Breach amongſt us for themſelves*, their *hopes* being founded upon our *diviſions*. Upon them in the firſt place do we charge theſe our Breaches, both in this, and the neighbour Kingdomes; but charging them, we cannot diſcharge our ſelves.

Iſa. 7. 6.

Num. 25. 18.

2. Iſraelites, Proteſtants profeſſing the ſame Religion with us.

2. A ſecond ſort of theſe *Breach-makers* are to be found amongſt our ſelves: *Iſraelites*, men profeſſing the ſame Religion, *Proteſtants* by name; who to approve themſelves ſuch, can readily pronounce the *Proteſtants Shibboleth*, willingly ſubmitting to the late *Proteſtation*; wherin amongſt other things, they have vowed and promiſed to *preſerve and maintaine the union and peace of the*

Iud. 12. 6.

three

three Kingdoms; and yet they either are, or have been *Breach-makers*, breaking the *peace of the Church*. Of theſe, we may take notice of two ſorts; (Pardon my plain and home-dealing, in proſecuting of this charge.) The deſigne which I aym at, is the *Healing of Iſraels Breaches*: Now a wound (you know) that it may be *Cured*, it muſt firſt be *ſearched*. This I ſhall do with as tender and gentle an hand, as poſſible I can; that whileſt I go about to make up Breaches, I may not make any.

Two ſorts of perſons there are amongſt our ſelves, upon whom theſe Breaches of ours may, and muſt be charged. Amongſt them, two ſorts of Breach-makers.

Some, who have turned aſide after error.
Others, who have followed the Truth.

Deale we firſt with the former, as having the greateſt ſhare in this buſineſſe; *ſuch as have turned aſide after error*. In this ranke muſt we reckon all thoſe *Schiſmaticks*, and *Sectaries*, who have departed from the *truth* of God, profeſſed amongſt us; or elſe have renounced *all communion* with us; *Anabaptiſts*, *Familiſts*, (of Chriſtians the worſt) *Antinomians*, *Socinians*, *Arminians*, *Browniſts*. I cannot reckon all, neither will I go about it. Upon theſe muſt we charge a great part of our home-bred *Breaches*, which are cauſed by their *Diviſions*, dividing and cutting themſelves off from the *unitie of the Faith*, or the *unitie of the Church*. Theſe are obvious *Breach-makers*, to whom we wiſh (with the Apoſtle) that *God would give them Repentance, to the acknowledgement of the* 2 Tim. 2. 25.

1. Such as have turned aſide after Error.

2.

Luk. 1. 79. *Truth*; *turning their feet into the wayes of peace.*

Superſtitious Innovatours.

And to theſe muſt we joyn (not as *acceſſaries*, but as *principalls*) thoſe late *Superſtitious Innovatours*; who, not contented with the *ſimplicity of the Goſpel*, would have put a *new dreſſe*, and that a garniſh one, upon the face of our *Religion*: together with thoſe unhappy and unfaithful *Enginers*, whether *Maſters of the Ordinance*, or their ſubordinate *Officers*, who being be-truſted with the Churches *Artillerie*, have turned the mouth of her

Hab. 2. 1. own *Canons* againſt her ſelfe, battering her Bulworks, beating her *Watchmen* from their *Watchtowers*, making *Breaches* in her Walls, driving out her Inhabitants, by laying *taxes* and *impoſitions upon their conſciences*. This (if I miſtake not) was the firſt ground of that firſt Breach, made in the firſt Church under the Goſpel; for the healing whereof, that firſt *Synod* was called, and Congre-

Act. 15. 1. gated at *Jeruſalem*, *Acts* 15. Some there were, who being converted from *Judaiſme* to *Chriſtianitie*, they ſtill hanging upon the old haunt themſelves, they would needs have impoſed ſome burdens upon the conſciences of the converted Gen-

Verſe 10. tiles, *Putting a yoake upon their necks* (as Saint *Peter* layeth it down) *which* (ſaith he) *neither our Fathers, nor we were able to bear*. What *yoake* was this? A *yoake* of *legall Jewiſh Ceremonies*, then antiquated and aboliſhed; a yoake of *Carnall Ordinances* (ſuch as the Authour to the *Hebrews*

Heb 9. 10. ſpeaks of) which were *impoſed on the Jews, until the time of Reformation*. This yoake would they have put upon the Gentiles necks, preſſing and obtruding

truding upon them ſome things *offenſive*, others not *neceſſarie*. And this it was which made that *Breach*; I will not ſpend time in making the Application thereof to our own *Church*, and *times*. I know your thoughts therein, run before me; my deſire only is, and my prayer ſhall be, that as our diſeaſe is not unlike theirs, ſo we may in Gods time finde a like *Cure*, by a like *means*, (*a lawfull Synod*, other means I know none) after the like *manner*; (*Impoſing upon the Conſciences of men, no burdens but what are neceſſary.*) Act. 15. 28

Paſſe we from hence, to what may happily more neerly touch and concern ſome of our ſelves.

A ſecond ſort of *Breach-makers* amongſt our ſelves, are ſuch as have followed the *Truth* (it may be) but they have not done it. 2. Followers of Truth, but not

1 *In Love,*
2 *with wiſdome.*

Firſt, ſome who have done it *in love*; This they ſhould have done, *ſpeaking the Truth in Love*, (ſaith the Apoſtle.) Ἀληθεύοντες; *Veritatem lectantes, following the Truth in love*, ſo the old vulgar Tranſlation readeth it; not without ſome warrant from the Originall. In *Love*, viz. 1. In Love. Eph. 4. 15.

To { *the Truth it ſelfe,*
{ *Our Brethren.*

To the *Truth* followed; To our *Brethren*, followers of the Truth with us. Thus ſhould the *Truth* be followed, but thus ſome have not followed it, do not follow it; they follow the Truth (it may be.) To the Truth it ſelfe.

But Firſt, not out of *love to the Truth it ſelfe*, but

but rather out of *ſelf-love*; drawen by ſome *By* and ſiniſter reſpects, and inducements; led and carried (it may be) rather by the *examples* of others, whoſe *perſons they have in admiration* (happily) *becauſe of advantage*, (as Saint *Jude* ſpeaks) then by the dictates of their own judgements: Thus following the *truth*, not in *love* to the truth, but to themſelves, their own credits, reputations, advantages. Or,

Iude 16.

To their Brethren.

Secondly, Not in love to their *Brethren*, followers of the truth, as well as they: Hence are thoſe unchriſtian *jealouſies*, and heart-burnings, diſdainfull thoughts and ſpeeches, mixed (it may be) with uncharitable *Cenſures*; which ſome are ready to paſſe upon thoſe, who in any thing are otherwiſe minded then themſelves: Inſomuch as they cannot walk with any, unleſſe they be in all things agreed; The leaſt *Difference* breedeth a *Diſtance*, the leaſt difference in *Judgement*, ſevers them in their *Affections*: Plain evidences againſt them, that they do not *follow the truth in love*; which if they did, it would certainly *cover a multitude of weakneſſes* and infirmities, in thoſe whom they walk with, ſpecially they being ſuch, as they have no cauſe to think but that they are *followers of the truth*, according to light received, as well as themſelves. Others there are

1 Pet. 4. 8.

2. Not in wiſdome.

In the ſecond place, which do not follow the truth with *wiſdom*. Thus ſhould the truth be followed: *Wiſdom* being the *Pilate* which ſhould *ſteer*, and direct the whole *Courſe* of a Chriſtian; regulating all his actions, which if they be not ordered by *wiſdom*, though *materially*, (and in themſelves never

never ſo good, yet) they looſe their *grace* and acceptation both with God and man. Now there are ſome amongſt us, which in following after the *truth*, looſe this *ſtearage*; whoſe aimes, and *Intentions*, happily are good in what they do, or ſeek after; but their *Actions* are unadviſed, raſh, heady, unwarrantable. Such was that act of *Uzzahs*, in putting forth his hand to ſtay the Ark of God, when it was ſhaken: The *intention* good, but the *action* evill, becauſe unwarrantable; he having no calling to do what he did: Whereby it came to paſſe, that whilſt he went about to *prevent a breach*, he made one: *God ſmiting him for his errour*, (or *Raſhneſſe*, as the Margin readeth it:) *So making a breach* upon him, which gave the denomination to the place, thereupon called (*Perez-Uzzah*) *i. e. The breach of Uzzah*. And even thus fareth it with ſome amongſt us, who beholding the *Ark of God ſhaken*, the religion of God (as they apprehend it) endangered, they preſently ſtep forth, putting their hands (being *private hands*) to the work of *Publicke Reformation*; not ſtaying for them to whom that work properly belongeth, but they will ſtep forth before them in an irregular, and unwarrantable way. By this means inſtead of *healing* or preventing a *breach*, making one. You know the ſtory *Gen.* 38. of *Tamars twins*: She being in her travell, the one *putteth forth his hand firſt*, about which the *Midwife tyed a ſcarlet thred*, as a token or mark of the *firſt-borne*; the *Purple* or *ſcarlet* colour alſo, well agreeing to the *birth-right*, or *elderſhip*, (as *Muſculus* noteth upon it. Notwithſtan-

2 Sam. 6. ver. 6.

ver. 7.

ver. 8.

Gen 38. 29.

ing this, the other *breaks forth* before him, not tarrying his time: Whereupon *Tamar* wondring at it, and enquiring after the cauſe or reaſon, of this ſtrange, and extraordinary birth: She breaketh forth into a paſſionate expoſtulation with her ſon, ſaying unto him, *How haſt thou broken forth, This breach be upon thee*; from thence giving him his name *Phares*, *i. e.* a breach. And is it not the caſe (my brethren) of ſome amongſt us, who waiting, (or rather not waiting,) thinking long for the Churches *delivery*, they will not tarry their time (*Gods time*,) but they will be breaking forth in a prepoſterous and inordinate way: I, notwithſtanding that God hath brought deliverance to the birth, ſo as they ſee an *hand put forth* already, an *hand with a ſcarlet thred* about it, the *Nobles* and
Lam. 4.5. *Senatours* of the Kingdom (to whom that colour
Dan. 5.7. moſt properly agreeth) reaching forth their hands, being at work for the *reforming* of what is amiſſe, and the *ſuppying* of what is wanting; yet they will anticipate them, out of a raſh and prepoſterous zeal ſtepping forth before them. To ſuch let me ſay (and if there be any here preſent; as happily there may be: I ſhall ſay it unto them) ſpeaking in the language of *Tamar* to her ſon, *how have you broken forth?* This *breach* (alſo) be upon you: We cannot but charge you amongſt others as *acceſſaries* to theſe *breaches*, if not to the making, yet to the increaſing of them of them: And being thus *charged*, ſee you to it how you can *diſcharge* your ſelves, either before God, or man.

I have done with the firſt Ranke of thoſe who come

come within the compaſſe of this juſt *reprehenſion*; ſuch as are ſo far from ſeeking, and endeavouring the *healing of Iſraels breaches*, that they *make* them, or elſe (in the ſecond place) keep them open, keep them from *healing*; being means, or occaſions to hinder the making up of theſe *breaches*, which they do either *purpoſely*, or *unadviſedly*. 2. Breach-maintainers, whether

Purpoſely ſome. So do the *enemies* of God, and his *truth*, the *Malignant party* amongſt us, who cannot indure that the Breaches amongſt us, ſhould be made up. In that like *Sanballat* and *Tobiah*, and their *confederates*, who when they heard that *the walls of Jeruſalem were made up, and that the breaches began to be ſtopt, they were very wroth* (ſaith the text) and ſo *conſpired altogether to come fight againſt Jeruſalem, and to hinder it*, (or *to make an errour in it*) as the Margin in our new Tranſlation readeth it according to the Originall. Such back friends to the *peace* of our *Jeruſalem*, there are many amongſt us at this day, who cannot endure that the *breaches* amongſt us ſhould begin to be *ſtopped*: And therefore they do what they can, to hinder the work; ſtill caſting in new jealouſies, and new obſtacles; thinking thereby either to *hinder* the work, or to make an *errour* in it: That ſo our *breaches* either may not be *healed* or elſe *ſlightly* healed: as the Lord complaines againſt the falſe Prophets *Jer. 6. They have healed the hurt of the daughter of my people ſlightly*: So healed, as that they may ſoon break forth again: which they do for their own advantage. In this like *water-foule* in a froſt, which by their continuall padling, keep open a *weake* in a river, Purpoſly. Nehe. 4. 7. 8. תועה Errorem. Ier. 6.14.

ver, not ſuffering it to freeze over, that ſo themſelves may have roome to ſwim and fiſh in: Or like ſome wretched *Surgeons*, who keep open a wound for their own gaine.

Or unadviſedly. Others do the like, but *unadviſedly*, beſides their intention. I ſpare them, and haſten to

Such as will be no Healers. A third ſort, who come under *Reprehenſion* here. Such who, as they have no hand (as they think) in the *making* of theſe *Breaches*, ſo they will have none in the *Healing* of them. It is that which the Lord ſaith of the *Jewes*, in that great confuſion which ſhould befall them; every man ſhould *re-*

Ier. 3. 6, 7. *ſuſe* to be an *Healer*. *When a man ſhall take hold of his Brother, &c. In that day he ſhall ſweare, I will not be an Healer.* And is it not ſo with ſome amongſt us at this day? They are not, they cannot be ignorant of the *breaches* which are made amongſt us in this, and the neighbour Nation; *Breaches* ſhaking and endangering both Church, and State, and yet they decline this Chriſtian office, *They will be no Healers*; No, their reſolution is for a wiſe, and wary *Neutrality*; they will be ſtanders by, and lookers on, to ſee what will become of things. Like men ſtanding upon the ſhoar, and looking upon others in a ſtreſſe at Sea, to ſee what will become of them, whether they ſhall ſinke or ſwim; In the mean time they will not put forth an hand, a finger to the making up, the *healing* of theſe *breaches*. Truth is, they are not at all affected with them, ſo themſelves may but keep their own heads whole, and ſleep in a whole skin (as we ſay) they care not what *breaches*

ches there be in the Church, whether at home, or abroad. In this, not unlike ſome ſimple man at Sea; who, ſo his own *Cabin* be but tight, he cares not what leaks there be in the Ship he ſayles in. Surely, ſuch there are, ſome amongſt us, and I wiſh the evidence were not too ſtrong, too clean againſt them. Whence is it, that ſome amongſt us are ſo loth, ſo backward in parting with any thing, for the making up of any of theſe *breaches*? not willing to part with a little *earth to fill them up*. It is a caſe which Divine Providence at preſent putteth into my hand, let me not over-looke, or neglect it.

I ſuppoſe there are none of you here preſent, but take notice what a great and fearfull *breach* is made upon the neighbour Nation, our Brethren in the *Kingdome of Ireland*; where, through the open *Rebellion* of a *Romiſh Confederacie*, rending and taring of that Kingdome, the *State* therein tottereth, and the *Church* lyeth a bleeding. For the repairing and making up of this *breach*: It hath pleaſed *Authoritie* (that *Authoritie* which may *Command* it, the *King*, and his *Parliament*) to *requeſt*, and *deſire* from you, either by way of *gift*, or *Loane*, *a little of your earth*, (your *Gold* is no other, no better, *Red-earth*, *thick-clay*, as the Prophet *Habakkuk* phraſeth it.) This they deſire for the *filling*, and making up of this Breach; by *ſuccouring* your Brethren which are driven from thence, and *relieving* thoſe which do ſtand in the *breach*. But (alas) how unwillingly, how cravingly, how ſparingly doth it come from ſome amongſt

Benevolence, and Loane for Ireland preſſed.

Hab. 2. 6.

amongſt us? Surely (my Brethren) thus it would not be, if the *Towne* wherein we now are, were beſieged, and a Breach made in the Wals of it. In this caſe (I ſuppoſe) there is none of us but would be ready both to carry *baskets* of *earth*, and to lend our *Wool-packs* or *Featherbeds* (if we have them) for the ſtopping, the making up of that Breach. And ſhall we not do a little for the Church of God in that Kingdome; the welfare whereof, is of ſo great and neere concernment to our ſelves? Inſomuch as ſome wiſe Statiſts have thought theſe two Kingdoms to be like *Hypocrates* his *Twins*, the one whereof could not ſubſiſt, at leaſt not well, without the other. Surely (my Brethren) ſuch *Parſimonius ſpirits*, may be conceived to be far from the reſolution of that noble *Roman Marcus Curtius*, whom the Hiſtories of thoſe, and after Ages have rendered famous to the World, for his unparaleld affection to his Country, and in ſpeciall, to the Citie of *Rome* whereof he was a Member: Wherein, when by reaſon of an Earthquake their happened a prodigious *Chaſma*, a great *Gulph*, or opening of the earth in the midſt of the Market-place; and the *Oracle* had ſignified to them, that there was no way to fill up that *breach*, but by caſting the beſt thing in their Citie into it: He thereupon preſently mounting his Horſe in *compleat Arms* (which was then the *chiefe glory* of that Citie and Nation) caſt himſelf into the Breach for the making it up; ſo *yeelding up his life* (ſaith my Authour) *to, and for his Country, from which he had received it.* This did he with

Liv. lib. 6 Oroſ. 3. c. 5. Plutarch. vit. Ariſtid. paral. Val. max.

Acceptam a Patria vitam, eidem impendere non dubitavit. Liv.

with a *Roman reſolution.* And the like ſhould Chriſtians be ready to do in a *Chriſtian way* for the *Church* of God, in caſe that God ſhall be pleaſed to call them to it, even *caſt themſelves into the breaches thereof*, for the filling, making them up; not thinking their *naturall lives* too dear for her, to whom (under God) they owe their *ſpirituall.* How far then do they fall beneath themſelves, beneath Chriſtians, who will not ſo much as part with a little of their *ſuperfluities* in ſuch a caſe? It is no more that is deſired from you; not the *Widowes two Mites, her whole livelihood, all that ſhe had:* but a little Ἐκ τῶ περισσεύοντος of your *abundance*, your *ſuperfluitie.* And hereof, he that will not ſpare a little to ſo good a work, muſt pardon me, if I leave him where I finde him, within the verge and compaſſe of this juſt *Reprehenſion*, charging him to be in the number of thoſe, that will not be an *healer of Iſraels breaches.* Mark. 12. the laſt.

I have done with the firſt of theſe *Uſes*, which maketh way to the latter. An *Uſe of Exhortation*, wherein I ſhould excite and exhort you, and all true *Iſraelites*, even all the Lords people amongſt us, that they would firſt *deſire*, ſecondly *endeavour the healing of Iſraels breaches.* But this I muſt defer till another occaſion.

ISRAELS

ISRAELS CURE.

The third SERMON.

March 16.

PSAL. 60. Verſ. 2.

Heale the Breaches thereof, for it ſhaketh.

THe *healing of Iſraels breaches, is a thing which every true Iſraelite ſhould deſire and endeavour.* This was the *Concluſion* which I inſiſted upon, the laſt time I ſpake in this place; proſecuting it both by way of *Doctrine*, and *Application*. The former of theſe, I then diſpatched; the latter I entred upon, but left imperfect. Then inſiſting upon an *Uſe* of *Reprehenſion*, which I intended only as a *needle*, to make way for, and draw in a *thred* after it. If that *needle* ſeemed then ſharp to any, pricking and ſmarting as it went, let not them blame either it, or me. A *Chrugion* in ſearching a wound, if he put his Patient to paine, it is beſides his intention, who intends his *Cure*, and

and not his *ſmart*; but he cannot helpe it, it will be ſo, and being ſo, it maketh the Cure the more *hopefull*, becauſe the part is *ſenſible*: In which regard the chirurgion is not diſcouraged by it, nor yet ſorry for it, though his Patient be. And in this regard, I muſt confeſſe, and ſay as the bleſſed Apoſtle ſometime to his *Corinthians*; *Though I made you ſorry, with a Letter* (ſaith he) with a *Sermon* (ſay I) *I do not repent*. This *ſorrow* (I truſt) ſhall prove unto you, as theirs to them, but *temporarie*, πρὸς ὥραν, *for a ſeaſon*, and ſhall in the end produce the like effects; ſo as you ſhall have cauſe to acknowledge, what they found. *That you have received damage by us in nothing*. In the hopes hereof, I now come to that which I pincipally intended when I firſt took this Text in hand; A word of *Exhortation*; which I ſhall direct generally, indefinitely, to all true *Iſraelites*, even all the Lords people; *exciting*, and *exhorting* them, that they would

2. Cor. 7. 8.

ver. 9.

Uſe 2. Exhortation.

{1. *Deſire*, 2. *Endeavour*} this *Cure*; *the Healing of Iſraels breaches*; the repairing and making up of theſe *breaches* which are amongſt us at the preſent in this, and the neighbour Kingdome, whether *Politicall* Breaches, or *Eccleſiaſticall* Breaches; Breaches in the *State*, or Breaches in the *Church*, how ever made, or by whomſoever, whether by *ſtrangers*, or *Iſraelites*; ſeek we the healing of them. This *deſire* we, this *endeavour* we.

To deſire the healing of breaches amongſt us.

First, *Deſire it*: This doth *David* here for that Kingdom, that *State*, that *Church*, whereof he was

the *Head*; and this do we for this Kingdom, this State, this Church, whereof we are *members*. And that we may do it, *Labour to be affected with it.*

To that end, be affected with them

That we may ſeriouſly deſire the *Cure*, labour to be throughly affected with the *Diſeaſe*. So was *David* with *Iſraels Breaches*; very ſenſible of them, and deeply affected with the apprehenſion of them. And ſo have others of the Saints of *God* been in like caſes.

Firſt, with *Breaches made amongſt themſelves*, in, or upon the Church, or State, where they lived. It is the *word* which *Jeremie* muſt ſay unto the *Jews*, *Jer.* 24. *Thou ſhalt ſay this word unto them: Let*

Ier.24.17. *mine eyes run down with tears night and day, and let them not ceaſe, for the virgin daughter of my people is broken with a very great Breach*: What ever the *falſe prophets* ſaid unto them, making light of that *Breach*, that judgement threatned; promiſing them

ver.15.8 that either it ſhould not be, or if it were, yet it ſhould be healed, and made up well enough, yet *Jeremie*, for his part, he layeth it to his own *eyes* and *heart*; mourning over it, being deeply affected with it, and willeth all the reſt of the *Jews* to doe the like.

Secondly, with *Breaches made upon others*; their

Iud.5.15, 16 *brethren* in other parts. *The diviſions of Ruben were great thoughts of heart* to all the reſt of the Tribes. *The whole congregation of Iſrael*, even all the other

Iud,la.15. Tribes, they were *ſorry and repented for Benjamin*, becauſe of that great *Breach* made upon that *tribe*. And thus let us, all of us be affected, with the *breaches* at preſent made upon this, and the neighbour Kingdom

Kingdom. God hath broken in upon both, *breaking* the one, and *rending* the other. O let theſe *breaches* be to all of us, *great thoughts of heart*: Take we notice of them, and be we deeply affected with them; which it is to be feared the greateſt part amongſt us, as yet are not. Hiſtories tell us of *Archimedes* the great Mathematicion, that when the City *Syracuſe* was ſacked, and plundred by the *Romans*, the ſouldiers ſome of them breaking into the houſe, and ſtudie where he then was, they found him ſo intent in drawing of lines and figures in the duſt, as that he took no notice either of the Cities loſſe, or his own danger, unrill on of them diſdaining that ſeeming diſreſpect, drew his ſword, and ſheathed it in his bowels, runing him through. And is it not thus (my brethren) with ſome, with multitudes amongſt us at this day? Whileſt the neighbour Kingdom is on fire already, and our owne in danger; the fire of Gods wrath flaming in the one, ſmoaking in the other, fearfull *breaches* made in both, *breaches* in the *ſtate*, and *breaches* in the *Church*, threatning every one of us in our particulars, inſomuch as we may ſay of our ſelves, as it is ſaid of *ſea-men*, *we know not whether to reckon our ſelves amongſt the living, or dead*, ſo eminent is our hazard, ſo eminent our danger; yet for all this they are wholly taken up with drawing of *lines in the duſt*, ſtill wallowing, and tumbling in duſt, minding nothing but earth, burying themſelves in the duſt of worldly thoughts and imployment, ſeeking their own things, their own private lucre and gain, the increaſing of their eſtates, the building and rayſing

of their houſes: In the mean time let heaven, and earth go together; let *Church* and *ſtate* ſinke or ſwim, or claſh one againſt the other to the *breaking*, and *drowning* of both, what care they? they regard it not, they are not affected with it: Too plain an evidence againſt them, that they are but as *woden leggs or armes*, tyed on to this miſticall body, no true gemime, living members of it: Which if they were, it could not be but that they ſhould be ſenſible of the wounds, and ruptures in it, *the breaches thereof*; ſo ſenſible of them, as to be affected with them. And thus let every of us labour to be, that we may in the firſt place, finde our *Hearts working towards the healing*, and repairing of theſe *breaches*. The *heart* muſt firſt work, before the *hand* will work. That we may put an *hand* to the *healing* of theſe *breaches*, lay them to *heart*: That we may both *deſire*, and *indeavour* the *Cure*, let us be affected with the *Diſeaſe*.

Look upon this diſeaſe 3. wayes.

Which that we may be, let us conſider and look upon it theſe three wayes, even as *Phiſitians* are wont to do upon the *diſeaſes* of their *Patients*.

1. *In the Cauſes*
2. *In the Symptomes* } of it.
3. *In the Prognoſticks*

In the *Cauſes* of it, *breeding* and *feeding* it. In the *Symptomes* or *effects* attending upon it, going along with it. In the *Prognoſticks* or *events* portended by it, and following upon it. All theſe three wayes doth *David* here look upon *Iſraels Diſeaſe*, her *Breaches* here in the Text.

As David doth here upon Iſraels breaches.

Firſt, In the *Cauſe* of them, which he found to be

be *Gods diſpleaſure* and anger conceived againſt them, and broke forth upon them for their *ſinnes*. *O God, thou haſt caſt us off, thou haſt ſcattered us, thou haſt been diſpleaſed, viz.* for ous ſins, which is the onely cauſe of Gods diſpleaſure: So you have it, Verſe 1.

Secondly, In the *Symptomes* of it, which were fearfull and terrible. *The earth trembled, it was broken, Riven* and torn as it were with an *Earthquake*; affected, and afflicted with frequent and dargerous *Commotions* and *diſtractions*, Verſe 2.

Thirdly, In the *Prognoſticks* of it. *It ſhaketh* (ſaith the Text) *i. e.* preſaging nothing but *Ruine*, and *downfall*; unleſſe it be ſpeedily underpropped, and the *Breaches* thereof made up, and *Healed*. Thus did *David* looke upon *Iſraels diſeaſe*; and hereupon it was that he was ſo deeply affected with it, ſo earneſtly deſiring the *Cure* of it. That we may be alike affected with the *Breaches of our Iſrael*; look we alſo upon this *Diſeaſe*, theſe three wayes.

First, *In the cauſes of it*; what is the true *Cauſe* of all theſe Breaches, which do for the preſent lye upon this, and the neighbour Kingdome? Surely it is no other, than that which *David* here pitcheth upon, even the *wrath and diſpleaſure of God, conceived againſt us for our ſins*. Other *Cauſes* may be aſſigned as *Inſtrumentall*; but theſe are the *chiefe* and *principall*. In *Iſraels* caſe, *David* was not ignorant that ſome Forraigne enemies, *Moabites*, *Edomites*, *Philiſtines*, together with ſome of his own Kingdom, *Iſraelites*, that *ſeditious par-*

In the cauſes of it: viz. Gods wrath for.

tie which cleaved to the Houſe of *Saul*, had an hand in making, and maintaining thoſe Breaches: Yet ſee he reſts not here, his thoughts riſe higher, to the firſt and *Primary cauſe* which ſets them awork, and that he findes to be Gods *diſpleaſure* againſt that Kingdom for the *ſinnes* thereof. In this and the neighbour Kingdom, there have been and are many *Inſtuments*, which have had hands in making, and maintaining there *Breaches*, even all thoſe *Breach-makers* which I named before; yet (alas) theſe are but *Inſtruments*, which move as they are moved; the Chiefe and *Principal cauſe* is the juſt *anger*, and *Diſpleaſure* of God conceived againſt us for ſin. And ſo let us conceive of it. When the *Plague* was broke forth in the *Camp* of *Iſrael*, beginning to make a *Breach* upon them, *Moſes* preſently tells
Num. 16. 46 *Aaron*, *There is wrath gone out from the Lord.*

What ever plague or Judgement, in what kinde ſoever it be, breaketh in upon a Nation, it is but a
Iſa. 30 laſt token and effect of wrath, even *Divine* wrath, the wrath of God. It is *the breath of the Lord which kindleth theſe Tophets.* And kindling them bloweth them up. It is wrath which both *maketh*, and *maintaineth* theſe *Breaches.*

Our ſins. Wrath conceived for our *ſins*; that is the fewell which this fire taketh hold and feedeth upon. Gods wrath taketh hold upon *mans ſins*, *where no wood is*
Pro. 26. 20 *there the fire goeth out*: were there no *ſin*, there would be no *wrath*. For this is it that the wrath of God com-
Eph. 2. 3. eth upon perticular perſons, who being *ſinners by na-*
Rom. 9. 22 *ture*, they are alſo *by nature children of wrath*; and
Rom. 2. 5. being *ſinners by Practie*, they are made *veſſels of wrath*

wrath; treaſuring up unto themſelves wrath, even that *wrath which is, and ſhall be revealed from Heaven againſt all unrighteouſneſſe of man.* This wrath is, and ſhall be powred out upon the heads of men for their *ſins*. *Becauſe of theſe things* (ſaith the Apoſtle ſpeaking of ſinfull *luſts*) *cometh the wrath of God upon the children of diſobedience*. And as upon particular perſons, ſo upon whole Kingdoms and Nations: Never did the wrath of God break forth upon *Iſrael*, but when he was provoked by their *ſins*. The *Breach* firſt ever begun on their part in their *breaking Covenant* with God: Still they break with God, in breaking his Lawes, before he brake in upon them by his judgements, which were ever ſent onely to *avenge the quarrel of his covenant*, as the Lord himſelf telleth them. And ſurely (my Brethren) here is the firſt riſe, and ſpring of all thoſe Evils, which either already are Broken in upon us, or elſe do threaten us: They are no other but tokens, and effects of Gods diſpleaſure againſt us for ſin. And ſo conceive we of all theſe Breaches, at which God himſelf, having been long provoked, ſeemeth now to be breaking in upon us to aveng the *quarrell of his Covenant*, which we have violated and and *broken*. Here are the *Cauſes* of this *diſeaſe*.

Rom. 1. 18
Ephe. 5. 6.
Lev. 26 25

2. In the ſymptoms of it, which are dreadfull.

In the ſecond place, look we upon it in the *Symptomes* of it. Thoſe we ſhall finde very dreadfull and terrible: Not unlike (the the *Symptomes of an Earth-quake*, where the earth trembles and ſhakes and breaks, being riuen or ſplit with prodigious ruptures and openings, yawning and gaping, even threatning to ſwallow up the inhabitants, as once it did

did *Korah* and his *Confederacie*. Thus was it with
Num. 16. 02. *Iſrael* at this time when *David* made this complaint of the *Breaches thereof*. *Thou haſt made the earth to tremble, thou haſt broken it*; ver. 2. And is it not ſo in this, and the neighbour Kingdom at preſent? doth not the *earth* even ſeeme to *tremble* under us? Hath not the Lord even made us a *Cup of trembling* (not unto others, as he ſaith he would
Zach. 12. 2. make Jeruſalem; *Behold I will make Jeruſalem a cup of trembling unto all the people round about*. Time was when it was ſo with us, we were a *cup of trembling* to all the Nations round about; but) to our ſelves: Having begun to drink of that *cup*, which
Iſa. 51.17 Jeruſalem was once made to drink of, I, to drink *off*, even the *cup of the Lords fury*, the *cup of trembling*. Inſomuch that we may ſay in the words of the
Pſal. 119. 53. Frigus Horror, Rigor, Fernel: *Pſalmiſt*, that *Horrour* (I, and *Rigor* or *ſhaking* too, two ſymptomes of a violent Ague) hath *taken hold upon us*; the earth under us ſeeming to tremble, as the bed doth ſometimes in the Paroxiſme of a cold fit under him that lyeth upon it. And how ſhould it be otherwiſe? when as *the foundations thereof are*
Pſal. 82. 5. *moved or out of courſe*, as the Pſalmiſt hath it. Sure we are, (what ever it is at home) ſo it is in the neighbour Kingdom, where by reaſon of that civill *combuſtion* all things are out of *order*, many of the *chief rulers* alſo, upon whom the *Common-wealth* there ſhould reſt, as a houſe doth upon the *foundations*, bearing a part in that *tragicall commotion*. And amongſt our ſelves, how is the *earth riven, and broken* both *church* and *common-wealth*, rent and torne by home-bred *diviſions*, and *diſtractions*? *Sad ſymptomes*

tomes, but *ſadder Prognoſticks*.

Which if we look upon in the third place, what can we conjecture and look for, unleſſe God be pleaſed ſpeedily to ſtep in unto us, fruſtrating our *feares*, and our enemies *hopes*, by *healing* and making up our *breaches*, but *Confuſion*, *deſolation*? *It ſhaketh*, ſaith the Pſalmiſt here of *Iſrael*. *It ſhaketh*, *it ſhaketh* may we ſay both of *Church* and *State*, in this and the neighbour Kingdome. Theſe unhappie *breaches* being in themſelves, and oft-times proving ominous preſages, prodigious fore-runners of *Ruine* and *Deſtruction*. But of this (it may be) I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more fully hereafter, in handling the ſecond part of the Text. *Davids Reaſon*, *Iſraels Danger*. 3. In the prognoſticks, which are prodigious

And are theſe the *Cauſes*, theſe the *Symptomes*, theſe the *Prognoſticks* of the diſeaſe? Oh what cauſe then have every of us to be affected, deeply affected with it? laying to heart the *breaches* both of *Church* and *State* in this, and the neighbour Kingdom; ſo laying them to heart, as that our *hearts* may work towards the *healing* of them, and not our *hearts* only, but our *hands* alſo.

Deſiring this *Cure*, let us (in the ſecond place) *Indeavour it*. *Indeavour we the healing of Iſraels breaches*, the repairing and making up the Breaches which are amongſt us, whether in Church, or State. 2. Indevour this cure.

And what arguments ſhould I uſe, to whet your indeavours this way, to put you forwards upon this (I had almoſt ſaid ſo *meritorious* a) work? Thoſe *conſiderations* which I named before as *Reaſons*, may alſo ſerve again for *Motives*, and that forcible ones. Motives.

Firſt, Ye are all *members* of this *Myſticall*, this *Politicall*, this *Eccleſiaſticall body*; and being ſo, ſeek the *Healing* of the *breaches* therof. Which *breaches*

2. (In the ſecond place) are *unſeemly* in the Church. And

3. *Dangerous* both to Church, and State, being diſadvantagious to both; great *obſtructions* exceedingly hindering the affairs and proceedings of both, as by wofull experience we finde it true. What is it that hinders the buſineſſe both of Church and State at preſent, that it ſticketh in the *birth*, and commeth off ſo ſlowly? Surely (next to our ſins) our *diviſions*. Not more diſadvantagious to them, then advantagious to their *enemies*, being an *In-let* to enemies both Forraign, and Domeſtick, to break in upon both.

3. Arguments moving David to ſeek the peace of Ieruſalem. Pſal. 122. 8, 9.

To theſe three, let me briefely adde three other; and I will not ſtraggle far to ſeeke theſe ſticks to make this fire withall. You ſhall finde them all lying cloſe together in a little compaſſe, in the two laſt verſes of that 122. *Pſal.* where *David* exciting both himſelfe and others to *pray for the peace*; ſeek the happines of *Jeruſalem*, that *Peace might be within her wals, and proſperitie within her Palaces.* He ſetteth downe a threefold *Motive* or inducement, putting him on to that duty. This he did for his *own* ſake, this he did for his *Brethrens* ſake, this he did for *Religions* ſake. The two former of theſe, you have v. 8. the one of them expreſſed, the other inſinuated and implied. *For my brethren and Companions ſake, I will now ſay, Peace be within thee, i. e.* not only for my *own* ſake; ſo ſome happily would have been readie

readie to conſtrue it, that *David* in being ſo zealous for the good, and happineſſe of *Jeruſalem*, had an eye only to himſelfe, for the eſtabliſhing of his Kingdome, and ſetling the Crown upon his own head, and the head of his Poſterity. To clear himſelfe from this imputation, and take off this ſuſpition; *David* here by a *Prolepſis*, by way of *anticipation* or prevention, he ſets downe the cauſe which moved him to it. It was not only his *owne* Cauſe (though he might herein have, and had an eye to himſelfe alſo,) but the cauſe of his *brethren* and *Companions*, *i. e.* of all the people of God, diſcended from the ſame ſtock of *Iſrael*, profeſſing the ſame Religion of God. The peace and happineſſe of them all, being as it were bound up in the peace and happineſſe of *Jeruſalem*. If it went well with it, it ſhould go the better with them; none of them but having a ſhare in *Jeruſalems* peace and happineſſe. He did it for his *own* ſake, he did it for *their* ſake.

And thirdly, for *Religions* ſake, that you have verſe laſt; *Becauſe of the Houſe of the Lord our God*, *i. e.* for the Religion of God, the true and pure worſhip and ſervice of God, whereof God had then made *Jeruſalem*, as it were the *Staple*, putting his Name there. In this threefold reſpect doth *David* ſeeke the peace and well-fare of *Jeruſalem*, and willeth others to ſeek it; *viz.* that it might be continued and increaſed, if enjoyed; repaired and reſtored, if impaired & decaied. And upon this threefold ground, let every of us be excited to ſeeke the publique peace and wel-fare of this our *Iſrael*, the reſto-

V ſefull to us in this caſe.

Seek this Cure for our own ſakes.

reſtoring and ſetling of *Peace*, by *healing the breaches thereof.*

This do we (in the firſt place) *for our own ſakes.* Ier. 29. 7. It is the Reaſon which the Lord giveth, why he would have the *Jews* in their Captivity to ſeeke the *Peace of Babylon*; *Seek the Peace of the Citie whither I have cauſed you to be carried away Captive; Pray unto the Lord for it, why? for in the peace thereof, ye ſhall have peace.* And for this reaſon ſhould all of us be earneſt in ſeeking the peace of *Jeruſalem*, the peace of the *Church*, the peace of the State wherein we live. *In the peace thereof, we ſhall have peace.* On the other hand, if they miſcarry, none of us but will feel of it. It is *Mordecaies* meſſage to *Heſter*, which he uſeth as an argument to put her on, and cauſe her to break through all diſcouragements and fears, in ſeeking and endeavouring the reſcue and deliverance of Gods people, her Country-men the *Jews*. Heſt. 4. 13 *Think not with thy ſelf* (ſaith he) *that thou ſhalt eſcape in the Kings houſe, more than all the Jews.* The *Court*, the *Kings houſe* ſhould be no *Sanctuary* to her. No more ſhall any of our *Eſtates* which we have, or the *places* where we live, or any other outward priviledge be unto us; and therfore think not of *taking Sanctuary* in any of theſe, as our fooliſh carnall hearts are very apt and ready to do, thereby eluding and bearing off the blow of Gods threatnings, ſo as they take no place with us, to cauſe us to ſeek the averting and turning of them away. No, if it go il with the *Church*, with the *State*, it cannot go wel with us. Think not to eſcape in our particulars. If a ſhip founder and ſink at ſea, all the

paſſengers

paſſengers which are in it, for the moſt part, periſh with it. And in that reſpect there is none but will be more ſolicitous and carefull for the ſhip it ſelfe, then for their own Cabins; for the ſtopping of the leakes in the one, then the chinks in the other. And in this regard Chriſtians ſhould be more ſolicitous for the *publique weale*, then for their owne *private wealth*: *bonum quo communius*. The *Common-wealth* ſhould be preferred before a mans owne *private wealth*, and much more the *Church*, the *houſe of God* (as the Apoſtle calleth it) before our *own houſes*: ſo was the Pſalmiſt (who ever it was that penned that Pſalm) affected towards *Jeruſalem*; *If I prefer not Jeruſalem before my chiefe joy*; the *head* or *top* of my joy, as the Originall hath it. Thus ſhould we ſtand affected towards the *Church* of God, preferring the welfare thereof before our own welfare, making it as the *top* of our *joy*, ſo the *top* of our *care*, and *deſire* and *feare*. If it go well with the Church wherein we live, it will goe the better with us; our private happineſſe is bound up in the publique peace and tranquility thereof: *In the peace thereof we ſhall have peace*. Seek and endevour this *cure for our own ſakes*. 1 Tim. 3. 15. Pſa. 137. 6.

Seeke it (in the ſecond place) for our *brethrens ſake*; *For my brethren and companions ſake* (ſaith the Pſalmiſt.) If it went well with *Jeruſalem*, not onely *David* and his Family, but all the inhabitants in Jeruſalem, nay, all the people of God in the whole Land of *Iſrael*, or where ever they were, they ſhould fare the better for it. 2. For our Brethrens ſake.

And for this cauſe ſeeke we the peace and welfare

fare of this our *Iſrael*, the Kingdom wherein we live, that the *breaches* thereof may be *healed*. Seek it for our *brethren* and *Companions* ſake; our Brethren at *home*, our Brethren *abroad*; not only thoſe of the ſame *Nation* in Forraign parts, but all others of the ſame *Religion* with us, even all the true Churches of Chriſt throughout the World; all which have a *venture in this bottome*, being greatly intereſted in the woe or wel-fare of *this Church*. If we compare all the *Proteſtant Churches*, to a *Fleet* or Navie of Ships (as fitly in many reſpects they may be.) In this Fleet, the *Church of England* muſt needes be acknowledged to be the *Admirall*, having long carried the *Flag in the Maintop*, and having been a ſecurity and Protection to many other Churches (I wiſh I could have ſaid to all) which have come *under her Lee*. Now the *Admirall* miſcarrying, oftentimes indangers the whole *Fleet*. Certainly, all the Forraign Churches, how ever they have not a dependance upon this Church for their *being*, (in that reſpect they being all *independent*, all *Siſters*, *Daughters* of the ſame *Fa-*
Gal.4.26. *ther* (Churches of God) I, and of the ſame *Mother* too, daughters of that *Jeruſalem which is above*,
Num. 27. *which is the Mother of us all*: and in that like *Zelophehads daughters*, *joynt-heirs* in their Fathers Inheritance, none having *power* over other, nor *priority* before other;) yet in reſpect of their *well being* they ſeeme to have. If it goe ill with this Church, ſo as that miſcarry, there is none of the Churches of Chriſt this day under Heaven, but are like to feele of it; and as things now ſtand, to ſmart for

for it. Oh for our *brethren* and *Companions* ſake, let us ſeek the *Peace of Jeruſalem*, the *healing of the breaches of this our Iſrael.*

And this doe we (in the third place) for *Religions* ſake, *Becauſe of the houſe of the Lord our God*, ſaith the Pſalmiſt, i. e. the *Tabernacle* and *Temple*, the Religion, worſhip and ſervice of God, whereof Jeruſalem then was the *ſeat*. If Jeruſalem went to wrack, what ſhould become of the Religion of God, the publique exerciſe of it? God having choſen that to be the place *to put his name in*. Let the ſame argument prevaile with us to make us ſeeke the peace of this our *Iſrael*, by indeavouring the *healing* of the *breaches* both of Church and State amongſt us. This doe we *becauſe of the houſe of the Lord our God*. The publique exerciſe and profeſſion of the true *Religion* of God depends upon it, which cannot but ſuffer if the *ſtate* ſuffer, if the *Church* ſuffer, as now for the preſent it doth, and is likely more to doe (if it be not ſpeedily remedied) by theſe unhappy *diviſions* and *diſtractions* amongſt us. In the midſt of theſe, how ſhall we thinke that the *Religion* of God ſhall grow? The *Temple* was built without the noiſe of *Axe* or *hammer*; when it was built, *axes* and *hammers* were fatall to it, at leſt to the *beautie* of it; *They breake downe the carved worke thereof with axes and hammers* (ſaith *Aſaph*, by a propheticall eye and tongue, foreſeeing and foretelling the deſtruction of the *Temple*.) And what doth the *noiſe of axes* and *hammers* amongſt us at this day preſage; I meane thoſe ſharpe and eager contentions, diviſions, diſtractions? Certainly,

3. For Religionsſake.

1 Kin. 6. 7.

Pſa. 74. 6.

ly, if theſe be not ſilenced and quieted they will indanger, at leaſt, our *carved worke*, the *beautie of our Church and Religion*. In the meane time we are ſure they hinder the growth and progreſſe of it: You know what it was that hindred the building of *Babel*; and the ſame meanes will hinder the building of *Jeruſalem*, the Church of God, the *Religion* of God, *confuſion*, *diviſion*. Diviſion of *tongues* and *hearts*. Oh, *becauſe of the houſe of the Lord our God*, the *Religion* of God profeſſed amongſt us, therefore ſeeke we the peace of *Jeruſalem*, ſeeke and endeavour the *healing of the breaches of this our Iſrael*.

Gen. 11. 7

By this time (me thinkes) I feele your pulſes begin to beat, and your *hearts* to worke, *burning within you*, ſo as you are ready to ſay; O but *how ſhall the breaches of this our Iſrael be healed*? how ſhall this *Cure* be effected? the cure of this *Nation*, this *State*, this *Church*; that is the *patient* I confeſſe I principally have in hand, and that is the Cure which I principally aime at, though the other is ſo twiſted in with it, as that I cannot ſpeake of the one, but I ſhall touch now and then upon the other. *How ſhall the Church amongſt us be cured?*

Q. How ſhall the Churches breaches be healed.

A. A uſefull Queſtion. Take the reſolution of it from the *Churches Phyſitian*, God himſelfe, who promiſing to undertake *Iſraels cure*, the *healing* of her *breaches*, thoſe breaches which the Babilonians had made upon her, he ſets downe the *ratio medendi*, tels her how, and in what way that cure ſhould be, *viz.* by *revealing upon her abundance of peace and truth*. So you have it, *Jer.* 33.

A. Meanes of cure.

By abundance of peace and truth.

Behold

Behold, I will bring it health and cure, and I will cure them, and will reveale upon them the abundance of peace and truth. Behold, the way and means whereby a Nation, a Church that is broken, may be perfectly healed and cured, *viz.* by Revealing upon it, and eſtabliſhing in it *abundance of Peace and Truth.* In which ſoveraigne *Reſtorative*, we may take notice of two things;

The { *Ingredients*, / *Quantities.*

The *Ingredients*, which are but two, but two principall ones, each of them of great price and value; *Peace* the one, *Truth* the other: The *Quantitie* of each, *Abundance*; *abundance of Peace and Truth.* Theſe two together, taken in this *Quantitie*, will make a perfect *Cure* upon any Nation, any Church; I, upon this Church. *Peace and Truth* both together; the one without the other will not do it. *Peace* without *Truth*, will make but a *ſlight Cure*, onely skinning over the wound for a time. Such a Cure it was that the falſe Prophets wrought upon *Iſrael*, in healing her *breaches.* *They have healed the hurt of the Daughter of my people ſlightly; ſaying Peace, peace.* Not unlike an unskilfull Chyrurgion, who by applying ſome healing plaiſter to an ulcerous ſore, *cilatrizeth the wound*, skinneth it over, when it is not ſound at the bone. On the other hand, *truth* without *peace* may make the Church ſound at the bone, but it will not heale the wounds of it; both together make a ſoveraign ſalve: Like that uſuall, but uſefull one, of *Minium* or *red-lead and oyle* mixed together, where the one Ier. 6. 14.

draweth out corruption, and maketh the part ſound, the other skins and heals; both together making a perfect Cure of any ordinary wound. Oh, then in the fear of God, following the preſcript and direction of this great *Chyrurgeon*, this great *Phiſician*; Let all of us ſeeke and endeavour the furthering and effecting of the Churches Cure in this way, by ſeeking after both theſe; *Seeke Peace, ſeeke Truth, ſeeke Peace and Truth. Peace. Seeke Peace and enſue it*, ſaith St. *Peter*. *Truth*. Seeke it, and buy it. *Buy the Truth*, ſaith the Wiſe-man. *Fundamentall Truths*, Truths ſimply neceſſarie at any rate, what ever they coſt. Other Truths be content to *buy* them, but not *over-buy* them, give not too much for them. It is but an ill bargaine which ſome make, to buy ſome *truths* with the loſſe of *Peace*; Seeke the one, and ſeeke the other, but ſeek both together; *Peace and Truth*, that they may be both *revealed upon us*, and eſtabliſhed amongſt us, and that in *abundance*. In this *abundance* there is no danger, I meane in the abundance of both theſe together. Of the one without the other, there may be. *Abundance* of *Peace* without *Truth*, will breed a *Lethargie*; *abundance* of *Truth* without *Peace*, may breed a *Phrenſie*. The one will breed a ſenſleſſe *ſecuritie*, the harbenger of Ruine and deſtruction. *When they ſhall ſay Peace, peace, then ſudden deſtruction cometh upon them.* The other by accident may breed a ſwelling *Timpany* of Spirituall pride, and ſelfe-conceiredneſſe, then which (as hereafter happily I ſhall ſhew you) there is nothing more oppoſite to this *Cure*, the *healing*

Seek after both theſe Peace and Truth.
1 Pe. 3. 11
Pro. 23. 23

See the next Sermon.

Both together.

1 Th. 5. 3.

of

of the Churches Breaches: You ſee then the way whereby this great and much deſired *Cure* is to be effected.

But what ſhall we do for the furthering of this Cure in this way? *Queſt.*

It is a great queſtion, and it will aske ſome time to anſwer it, more then I have to ſpare at the preſent. In anſwer to it, my deſign and purpoſe is to lay downe ſome *rules* and *directions* which may be uſefull to you this way, for the furthering of this *Cure*, the healing of the *breaches* in this our *Iſrael*; to which, the good Lord give a bleſſing, that they may conduce to the end for which they are intended. *Anſw.* Directions for furthering this Cure in this way.

Theſe *Directions* I intend to reduce to two heads, laying down two ſorts of them. Some *reſtorative*, others *preſervative*. The former directing to the *curing* and *healing* the Breaches alreadie made: The latter, to the preventing of the like Breaches for the time to come. I ſhould begin with the former, *Reſtorative directions*; which again are of two ſorts: ſome of them concerning *our ſelves*; others of them concerning others, *viz.* thoſe which have been, or are the *breach-makers* amongſt us, ſhewing how we are to order our ſelves towards them, and what we are to do to them, or for them. Two ſorts of them. 1. Reſtorative. 2. Preſervative. The former concerning 1. Our ſelves, 2. Others.

Of the former ſort I ſhould have given you three or foure; Take one of them for the preſent, (for I will not multiply particulars under any one head) which may ſerve as a fitting *Preparative* for all the reſt; and therefore I ſhall put it in the firſt place. A Preparative.

Let us have faith to be healed. It is ſaid of *Paul*;

Dir. 1. Have Faith to be healed. Act. 14. 9. that *Beholding the Criple at Lyſtra, and perceiving that he had faith to be healed, he ſaid unto him, ſtand upright.* This *faith* in him was a *Paſſive miraculous faith.* But what have we to do with this *faith*? Surely (Beloved) if we looke at our *Diſeaſe*, the *dangerouſneſſe* (I had almoſt ſaid the *deſperateneſſe*) of it, we ſhall ſee that we have need of a *faith*, not much inferiour unto this. *Miraculous Cures, call for miraculous faith.* Wonderful and extraordinary *Cures*, call for a *faith* anſwerable. And ſuch is the *faith* that this *Cure* (to fleſh and bloud, carnall reaſon ſo difficult) calls for at our hands, a more then ordinary faith, which may breake through all thoſe clouds of apparent difficulties and ſeeming impoſſibilities, laying hold upon the great Phiſician, GOD himſelfe, for the *healing of thiſe breaches.*

Queſt. Why, but in what have we to ſupport and beare up our faith, in apprehending, in beleeiving this?

Ex. 17. 12. The *hand of faith* is like *Moſes* his hands, which he held up in *Iſraels* cauſe againſt *Amaleck*, ready to flag and fall down, if it be not ſupported. Now what *ſupporters* ſhall we have for this faith?

Anſw. Faiths ſupporters in this caſe, two. Inſtead of many, make uſe of two; two *ſupporters* which may be to our *faith* in this caſe; as *Aaron* and *Hur*, were to *Moſes* in that, to uphold both the *hand* and *head* of it, to make it *ſteady.* The one is the *Power of God*, the other his *Promiſe.*

The power of God 1. *The Power of God; this he can do.* The *diſeaſe* indeed is dangerous, and *Cure* difficult, but not exceeding the skill of this great Phiſician, who can put

put life into a dying, nay a dead bodie. He that ſaid unto thoſe *dry bones, live*; and to *Lazarus* after his foure dayes buriall, *Come forth*: He can much more put life again into this our languiſhing dying State, and Church. He can do it. True: this we doubt not of; I, but the queſtion is touching his *will*. Eze. 37. 4. Ioh. 11. 43

2. For that (in the ſecond place) take a *promiſe*, which if we ſhall yet but performe the *condition*, it may give us at leaſt comfortable *hopes*, (ſhould I ſay *aſſurance*, it would bear me out) that God will make it good to us. And me thinks there are *rayes* and *beames* of comfort ſhining in, and ſtreaming from the face of that promiſe, in as much as God hath in part already wrought for us, and amongſt us that worke, which there he calls for from us: You have it 2 *Chr.* 7. 14. *If my people which are called by my name (or upon whom my Name is called) ſhall humble themſelves, and pray, and ſeeke my face, and turn from their wicked wayes, then will I hear from Heaven, and will forgive their ſinne, and heale their Land.* The former part hereof, (bleſſed be God) it hath beene in meaſure already done; as by the *Repreſentative bodie* of the Kingdome, the *heads of our Tribes*; ſo by a conſiderable number of others of all ſorts, even all the Lords people amongſt us, whoſe hearts the Lord hath touched, and ſtirred up to ſtand in theſe *breaches*: They have endeavoured to *humble themſelves, and pray, and ſeeke the face of God*; this they have done *privately*, and this they have done *publickly*, upon thoſe ſolemne dayes of *Publick humiliation*, ſet apart by Authority to that purpoſe; His Promiſe. 2 Chr. 7. 14.

purpoſe; for which I hope this Nation ſhall have cauſe to bleſſe the God of Heaven for ever. Oh! that the ſecond part were but now performed; that we were all of us, from the higheſt to the loweſt, *turned from our wicked wayes*; that we had but given a *Bill of divorce* to all thoſe wrath-provoking ſins, which cry for vengeance againſt us; then might we with confidence ſet faith a worke, to apply and lay hold upon that promiſe, *That God will hear in Heaven, and forgive our ſin, and heal our Land.* In the hopes wherof, yet raiſe we up our drooping ſpirits, not ſuffering our *hearts to dye within us*, as *Nabals* once did, when he heard what *Davids* intention was in coming againſt him. Let us rather ſtirre up our ſelves to act *Abigals* part, to interpoſe our ſelves, uſing all the wayes and means which God ſhall direct us to, for the appeaſing of his wrath, for the procuring of his favour; that through this his power and goodneſſe, the *breaches* of our *Iſrael* may be ſo *healed*, and *his face may ſo ſhine upon us, that we may be ſaved.* For other *Directions*, I muſt deferre them till another occaſion.

1 Sam. 25. 37.

verſ. 18.

Pſa. 80. 3.

Iſraels

ISRAELS CURE.

The fourth SERMON.

March 23.

PSAL. 60. Ver. 2.

Heale the Breaches thereof.

THe *healing of Iſraels breaches, is a Cure which every true Iſraelite ſhould earneſtly deſire, and ſeriouſly endeavour.* This is the maine concluſion which my eye was upon, when I firſt tooke this Text in hand. Some time I have ſpent upon it already, proſecuting it both by way of *Doctrine*, and *Application*. The latter of theſe I directed two waves: By way of *Reprehenſion*, *Exhortation*. With the firſt of theſe we have done, and have made ſome way into the latter; Exciting and ſtirring up all ſorts of Perſons, to the *deſire*, and *endeavour* of this bleſſed *Cure*; the *healing of the breaches* amongſt us, in this, and the neighbour Kingdom,

Kingdom, whether in Church or State. To ſet on this *Exhortation*, I made uſe of ſome Arguments and Motives, tending and ſerving to ſet an edge, both upon your deſires, and endeavours; that both your *hearts* and *hands* might work this way. Having layed this foundation, I came to build upon it. For your direction, ſhewing you

Firſt, Wherein this Cure conſiſteth, and how it muſt be effected; ſpecially the Cure of the Church, which is properly my *Patient* at preſent, *viz.* by *Revealing unto it, and upon it abundance of peace and truth.*

Secondly, What you are to do for the furthering of this *Cure* in this way. This latter I entred upon the laſt day, and but entred; then only chalking out the way wherein I intended to walk; which is to lay you downe ſome *Rules* and directions, which may be uſefull unto you in this way. Thoſe I ranged into two Ranks, dividing them into two ſorts; ſome *Reſtorative*, others *Preſervative*. The former directing to the *making up* of Breaches already made; the other, to the *preventing* of Breaches for the time to come. We have begun to bring up the former Rank. *Reſtorative directions*, which again are of two ſorts; Some of them concerning *our ſelves*; others of them, concerning others, *viz.* thoſe which are, or have been *breach-makers* amongſt us, teaching us how to demean, and order our ſelves towards them. Of the former of theſe, I have given you one, and but one, which I laid down as a fiting *Preparative* to make way for all the reſt. Which is

That

That we ſhould have faith to be healed. It is ſaid of our bleſſed Saviour, that *when he came into his own Countrey* (*Patriam nutritionis*, the place where for a time he was educated and brought up, *Nazareth*;) *He did not many mighty works there* (ſaith St. *Mathew*;) *He could not do them* (ſaith St. *Marke*.) Why? *Becauſe of their unbeliefe.* Unbeliefe doth after a ſort, *break the arme*, and evacuate the power of the omnipotent God, putting a kinde of impoſſibilitie upon things, otherwiſe poſſible: Whereas on the other hand, faith putteth a poſſibility upon things in appearance, to fleſh and bloud impoſſible. *If thou canſt beleeve* (ſaith our Saviour to the father of the Demoniack) *all things are poſſible to him that beleeveth.* Let not us then through our unbeliefe, either weaken the power, or make voyd the promiſe of God. *If ye will not beleeve, ſurely ye ſhall not be eſtabliſhed* (ſaith the Lord to *Ahaz* and his people in a like caſe.) And *if we will not beleeve, ſurely we ſhall not be healed.* And therfore ſtirre we up our hearts to Beleeving; Even *againſt hope, beleeving in hope*, as it is ſaid of the Father of the faithfull; Still reſting upon the power and mercie of God, for the pardoning of our ſins, and *healing of our Land*, which he is eaſily able to do; only beleeve. *Said I not unto thee* (ſaith our Saviour to *Martha*, objecting unto him the impoſſibility of her Brother *Lazarus* his Reſurrection, after his four dayes buriall.) *Said I not unto thee* (ſaith he) *that if thou wouldſt beleeve, thou ſhouldſt ſee the glory of God?*

Dir. 1. Have faith to be healed.

Mat. 13. laſt. Mar. 6. 5.

Mar. 9. 23

Iſa. 7 9.

Ro. 4. 18.

John 11. 40.

Q. But will faith alone do it?

A. Not ſo; we know what St. *James* tells us concerning a fruitleſſe faith, *Faith without workes, is dead.* So may I ſay in this caſe; It is not a meer *paſſive faith* that will do us any good, unleſſe it be accompanied with active, and effectuall endeavours, it will be of no availe. What then ſhall we *doe* to further this *Cure*, the *healing of theſe breaches?*

Iam. 2. 20. 26.

2. Why (in the ſecond place) *Pray them whole. The prayer of faith availeth much* (ſaith St. *James*) I, even in the curing of *ſickneſſes*; *The prayer of faith ſhall ſave the ſicke.* A ſick perſon (ſaith he,) a ſick *State*, a ſick *Church* (ſay I.) No means more ſoveraign then this. It muſt needs be ſo; *Prayer* being an *expreſſe* ſent from Heaven to the great Phiſician. Not unlike thoſe *friends* which the *Centurion* ſent as *Meſſengers* to our Saviour, to deſire him to give the *word* for his ſervants *Cure*; *Say but the word, and my ſervant ſhall be healed*: Make we uſe of this *Meſſenger*. Earth will not afford it, ſend to Heaven for a Cure; Diſpatch we our *prayers and teares* to that great Phiſician upon this errand; that *He would but ſpeake the word, and we ſhall be healed.* In this way we may have hopes of ſpeeding, having a promiſe for it. *If my people ſhall humble themſelves, and pray, and ſeeke my face, &c. I will heare in Heaven, and will heale their Land.* Be we inceſſant then, in ſending out theſe Meſſengers day after day; never reſting untill God hath beene pleaſed to make a gracious return, by granting what we ſue for.

Iam. 5. 15, 16.

Pray the breaches whole.. Verſ. 16.

Luk. 7. 6. 7.

2 Chr. 7. 14.

Joyn faſting to our Prayers.

And that our *Prayers* may be the more prevalent;

lent; joyne *faſting* to them. *Faſting* is to *Prayer*, as *feathers* to the *Arrow*; which (though in themſelves be light matter, yet (being glued or faſtned to the ſhaft, they make it both flye far, and ſtrike ſure. Oh ſuch uſe is *faſting* unto *Prayer*; In it ſelfe little worth. *Bodily exerciſe profiteth little*; But being joyned unto Prayer, it maketh it the more *prevalent*, and that becauſe the more *fervent*. And therefore adde we this to the other, as being of ſpeciall uſe in this caſe. It is the Phiſicians rule, and it is a good one, did we but know how to make a right uſe of it, *Such diſeaſes as will not be cured by faſting, cure by Phiſick.* Make we experiment of this exerciſe, and try what it will do for the curing of the diſeaſes both in Church and State. I remember what our Saviour tells his Diſciples concerning the worſt kinde of Devils; *They go not out* (ſaith he) *but by Prayer and faſting.* Now ſurely, that which will caſt out Devils, will lay them, binde them, reſtrain them. But what ſpeak I of binding of Devils, when as by this means God yeelds himſelfe to be bound? It was no leſſe then a ſacred violence, that made God ſay unto *Moſes, Let me alone.* It is the Lords ſpeech unto *Job* (I remember) concerning the *Leviathan, will he make ſupplications unto thee? will he ſpeak ſoft words unto thee?* That which the *Creature* diſdaineth to do; Behold, the *Creator* ſtoopeth to do! Such force and prevailencie is there in humane *ſupplications*, being *prayers of faith*, that they do even draw ſupplications from the Almighty; after a ſort binding his hands, the hands of his revenging

1 Tim. 4. 8.

Morbi qui medianon curantur, medecina curentur. Fernel.

Math. 17. 21.

Exod. 32. 10.

Iob 41. 3.

juſtice that he cannot break in upon a nation, a people, as otherwiſe he would do. This courſe then take we for the appeaſing of Gods wrath already broke forth upon us, and conſequently for the repayring and *Healing* of theſe *Breaches: Pray them whole.* But of this direction, I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak again in the next Point, *viz. Iſraels* Phiſician, to whom we are to repaire for a Cure; and that (as by other wayes, ſo) by *prayer.*) *Pray them whole.*

Ioh. 9. 31. But *God heareth not ſinners*; ſo the *Blinde man* upon whom our Saviour had wrought that great miracle, and Cure, told the Jews; *But if any man be a worſhipper of God*, and *doth his will*, (ſaith he) *him he heareth.* And therefore

Dir. 3. Make up our owne breaches, getting our owne ſins healed. (In the third place) that our prayers may take place, and prove avaylable, not only for our ſelves, but for others, for the State, the Church, let it be our care, and our firſt care every of us to get *our own ſinnes removed*, and taken out of the way. Theſe (as I have already ſhowen you) they are the *great Breachmakers*, and the *firſt Breachmakers*, firſt making a Breach in heaven; making a Breach, and ſeperation betwixt God and us: (*Your iniquities have ſeperated betwixt you and your God.*) Provoking God to break in upon us by his judgements, as upon our perſons and families, ſo upon the places where we live; ſometimes making *publiche Breaches* upon States, and Kingdoms for the ſins of ſome particular perſons, as upon the whole Houſe of *Iſrael* for the ſin of one *Achan*. That we may be *Healers* then, all of us in our places, furthering this

Iſa. 59. 2.

Ioſhua 7.

bleſſed

bleſſed *Cure*, the *healing of breaches abroad*; let it be our firſt care to make up the *breaches at home*, our own Breaches. *Luke* 4. 23. Our Saviour tels the *Jews* what they were ready to object unto him, *Phiſician heale thy ſelfe*. In this caſe it muſt be ſo; they which would have any hand, ſo as to lend any effectual endeavours to the healing of *Publick breaches*, they muſt firſt practiſe at home in private, practiſe upon themſelves, upon their own hearts and lives, to get the breaches of both healed by *Repentance* and *Reformation*. *Repentance* for evils paſt, *Reformation* for the time to come. Without this our *Prayers*, will be to little to no purpoſe; mark the connexion of theſe two together, in the place forenamed. *If my people ſhall humble themſelves, and pray, and ſeeke my face, and turne from their wicked wayes; then I will heare from heaven, and forgive their ſin, and heale their Land.* The one without the other, is but loſt labour, all our *humilation*, and *ſupplication*, without *Reformation* will be of no availe. And therefore ſet we upon this courſe, and this work, all of us beginning this ſo much deſired, *Publick Reformation* at home, in private: every one ſweeping before his owne doore, which is the readieſt way to make the ſtreet clean.

Luke 4. 23.

2 Chr. 7. 14.

And as all ought to do it, ſo ſpecially *Publicke* perſons, *Magiſtrates*, *Rulers*, who are by their office *Phiſicians*, *Healers*, *Church* and *State* (if ſicke) they are their *Patients*, the *Breaches* and *Ruines* of both being under their hands. *A man ſhall take hold of his Brother* (ſaith the Prophet *Eſay*;) *ſaying, Be thou our Ruler, and let this ruine be under thy*

Specially publick perſons.

Iſa. 3 6. 7.

hand, viz. for the *healing*, repairing of it. *And in that day he shall sweare* (so he goeth on) *saying, I will not be an healer, &c. Make me not a Ruler of the people.* A *Ruler* and an *healer* then are both one; this Office and charge lying upon them after a speciall manner. Now that they may have successe in this Cure; let them first be *Phisicians to themselves.* Heale themselves, make up their own Breaches, by getting their owne sins taken away.

Whose sins have a dangerous influence upon the Publicke State.

The sins of *Publik* persons, they have often a dangerous influence upon the Publick State both of Church and Common-wealth. Not unlike a prodigious *Comet*, or *Blazing*-star, which hath for the most part a maligne and dangerous aspect and influence upon the Kingdoms, and Countries over which it is. It is a good note of *Sculteti* his upon that passage in the 51. Psal. where *David* maketh this his suit, that *God would build up the wals of Jerusalem. Build them* (saith he,) why what *breach* was there in those Wals, that *David* should put up such a request? Yes (saith he) *David* himself had made a *Breach* in them; and that by his *sinnes*, those sins which he there confesseth, his *Adultery*, *Murder*; Two *murdering Peeces* which had made a *Batterie* upon; and a *breach* in those Wals, the Wals of Gods gracious Protection. And hereof *David* was sensible. *Sensit se quasi denudasse Jerusalem.* He apprehended that he had even layed flat the Wals of *Jerusalem*, and layed the Citie naked, exposing it, as much as in him lay, to ruine and desolation. Of such dangerous consequence are the sins of Publick persons, of *Rulers*, specially of *chief Rulers.*

Psa. 5. 18.

Rulers. *Principes peccantes denudant muros Jerusalem*, (so my Author goeth on.) *Princes*, (and we may say the same of the *Priests* too) if they transgresse; by their sins they make a Batterie upon the Wals of *Jerusalem*, lay the Church and State where they live, *naked*. This did *Aaron* to the *Israelites*, by consenting and giving way to that *Idolatrie* of theirs, *he made them naked* (saith the Text) *in the midst of their enemies*, *i. e.* he stript them naked of the *gracious Protection* of God, which was their best *covering*, and so exposed them to the incursions of their enemies. Such a dangerous influence have the sins of Publick persons upon the States, Churches, Kingdomes wherein they live, oft-times making dreadful *breaches* in them; as *Davids* sin in *numbring the people*, made that great *breach* upon *Israel*, at which the *Destroying-Angel* brake in, smiting no lesse then *seventy thousand men* in lesse then three dayes space. And as *making*, so *maintaining* them. And therfore let all such, that they may be in *truth* what they are by *Office*, *healers*, labour first to get their own *breaches* healed, their own sins taken away, and that (as I said) by *Repentance* and *Reformation*; Reforming themselves, their Families, and Charges as much as may be; that so the Breaches being made up at home, they may with more successe undertake this great *Cure*, the *healing of Israels breaches*.

Exod. 32. 25.

2 Sa. 24. 15.

Take a fourth, and a last; for I shall not give you many particulars under any one head. That we may further the *healing* and making up of these *breaches*, let *every of us cast in something into them*.

Dir. 4. Every one cast in something into these breaches.

This

This (you know) is the readieſt way to make up a Breach in a wall, by caſting earth and Rubiſh into it, every one his Basket. And like courſe take we to make up the *Breaches* in the wals of our *Jeruſalem*, every of us caſt ſomething into them. So did they into the *Churches Treaſurie*, *Luke* 22. Every one *caſt in* ſomething according to abilitie. Do we the like into the *Churches Breaches*; Every one caſt in ſomething. But what ſhall we caſt in? I might anſwer; Caſt in our *Prayers*, caſt in our *ſins* in the wayes already preſcribed. To theſe I might adde, Be readie to caſt in our *Eſtates*, at leaſt a proportionable part of them, if God ſhall call for it. But theſe I have touched upon already. Beſides theſe, there is yet one thing more, which every of us have, (moſt of us too much of it.) And could we be but perſwaded to caſt it in, I ſhould make no queſtion, but it would undoubtedly fill up all theſe *Breaches*, at leaſt in the Church; And what is that?

Luke 22. 1.

Every man himſelfe, viz. His owne will.

Why, *Every man caſt in himſelfe*; So did that noble *Roman* whom I mentioned before, *Marcus Curtius* for his Countrey, for the making up of that Breach in the Market-place at *Rome*, he caſt in *himſelfe*. Oh, that every of us, and all others profeſſing the ſame Religion with us, would but be contented to do the like for the Church of God, every one to caſt *himſelfe* into the *breaches* of it; I mean that which is moſt properly called *himſelfe*, *viz. His own will*; A thing which multitudes are ſo wedded to, and make ſo much of, as if it were indeed their *own ſelfe*. Whence it is ſometimes ſo called;

called; *If any man will come after me, let him deny himſelfe, i. e.* his *owne will.* And this (*ſelfe*) let every of us, who deſire the Healing, and filling up of theſe Breaches, caſt into them, and that by learning and taking out this great leſſon of *ſelfe-deniall.* What is it that hath *made* theſe Breaches, and having made them *maintaines* them? Why, ſurely even that which is the *greateſt breach-maker* in the world (*ſelfe.*) This it is that maketh Breaches in Families, Breaches in Societies, in Townes, Cities, States, Churches, Kingdomes; in all, the great Breach-maker is *ſelfe.* That men are *ſelfe-willed* and *ſelfe-conceited*: *Preſumptuous are they, and ſelfe-willed,* (ſaith Saint *Peter*, ſpeaking of the falſe Teachers and their followers,) *Audacious ſtanding in their owne conceits* (as the *Geneva* renders it.) Certainly (my Brethren) there neither is, nor ever yet was Breach in the Church, but this (*ſelfe*) had an hand in it. And therefore for the Churches peace let every of us be content to ſacrifice this *univerſall breach-maker.* Even as the men of *Abel*, following the counſell of that *wiſe woman* deale with that rebellious *Arch-breach-maker, Sheba the ſonne of Bichri*, who ſounding the trumpet of rebellion made a great *breach*, and *rent* thein kingdomof Iſrael, they *caſt his head over the wals, and ſo made up the breach.* Thus deale we with this *breach-maker* (*ſelfe*) our owne wils, our owne conceits; be not ſo much wedded to them, as that we will rather hazard the Churches peace and being, then part with them: but labour for humble hearts and yeelding ſpirits, that we may be contented as to *do* much, and *ſuffer* much,

Luke 9. 23.

(Selfe) the greateſt breach-maker, & therefore ought to be ſacrificed.

2 Pe. 2. 10

2 Sa. 20. 21.

ſo to *part* with much for *Peace*. *Peace* is a *Pearle*; the Latin word (*Unio*) ſignifieth both. Let not any of us trample this *Pearle* under-foot, ſo far under-valuing it, as to thinke every little too much to give for it, preferring every ſeeming *truth* before it. It is a miſtake (I ſaid it the laſt day, and I ſay it again) if any ſhall thinke that *ſome truths may not be over-bought, viz.* when they are bought with the loſſe of Peace. Of theſe ill bargaines the Church of God in all ages hath had too great experience. And in other caſes we wil not ſpare to cenſure and condemn this folly. We will not *buy gold too deare* (we ſay.) And we would account him but a very ſimple man (ſaith a late reverend Divine of our owne,) *who would ſet his houſe on fire to roſte his egge:* Such, and no better is the wiſdome of thoſe, who ſhall contend ſo hotly and eagerly for ſome truths, being not of the foundation, nor neere it; as that in the meane time they regard not the ſetting all on fire, rather then part with them. Certainly, they which will not (in a good ſence) be content to part with ſome truths, (and thoſe, it may be, *uſefull* ones) for peace; they are not worthy of it, nor yet muſt ever looke to enjoy it upon earth.

Doctor Staughtons Sermon upon 122. Pſal. verſe 6.

How truth may, and ought to be parted with for Peace.

Let it not be miſtaken; loath I am that any, in the darkneſſe either of *ignorance* or *prejudice*, ſhould ſtumble at this *truth* of *parting with truth*. Part with it; How? Not by *abjuring*; denying any Truth againſt conſcience. This a man may not doe upon any tearmes; *Peace of conſcience muſt be maintained what ever it coſt*: But, by *not avowing*, not openly contending and conteſting for it, whether by

Pro-

Profeſſion or *Practice*. And for this I thinke we ſhal need no other warrant then that rule and direction of the Apoſtle, *Rom.* 14. *Haſt thou faith? have it to thy ſelfe. Faith*, i. e. acknowledge, and aſſurance either of the *truth* or *lawfulneſſe* of ſomething indifferent, which thou canſt not either profeſſe or practice, without the offence and ſcandall of thy weake Brother, to the breaking of *Peace*. In this caſe (ſaith the Apoſtle) *have this faith to thy ſelfe*; enjoy thine owne knowledge and perſwaſion, but keepe it to thy ſelfe, not letting it breake forth to the ſcandall of others, much leſſe to the indangering of the *Churches Peace*, which ought to be of more price and value to us then many of theſe *Truths*. It is the ſpeech of *Elkanah* to *Hannah* his wife, when ſhe was ſo inordinately deſirous of a Son that nothing elſe could give her content; *Am not I better to thee then ten Sonnes*, i. e. then many children. The like may the Church of God ſay unto us, *Am not I better unto you then many children?* then many fruits and conceptions of your own braines; I, though *iſſues of truth*. Ro. 14. 22. 1 Sa. 1. 8.

This I ſpeake, not that I would have *Truth*, any truth (which I acknowledge to be a part of the image of God) ſleighted and undervalued. Goldſmiths will not caſt away the duſt and filings of their gold and ſilver; No more ſhould Chriſtians caſt away ſuch *ends and ſhreads of truth* as God either hath, or ſhall be pleaſed to reveale unto them. Onely my aime is that I would have a higher price ſet upon *Peace* then (for the moſt part) it is bought and ſold at. This, I am ſure (what ever may be ſaid for ſome *truths*, truths of the *new Covenant*, for of them onely it can be ſaid) Peace purchaſed with the bloud of Chriſt.

was a peece of that *great purchaſe*, purchaſed by the
Eph.2.14. *blood of Chriſt*. *He is our peace* (ſaith the Apoſtle)
i.e. the Author of it, our *Peace-maker*, *making*
verſ.15. *peace*, as it followeth verſ. 15. And this he hath
Col.1.20. done by, and through the *bloud of Chriſt*, (as the
ſame Apoſtle hath it) there purchaſing peace, and
not only *peace with God*, but *peace* with and amongſt
men. Of that *peace* the Apoſtle ſpeaketh in that
2 to the *Epheſians*, Peace betixt Jews and Gentiles,
making them one. To this end Chriſt came downe
Luk.2.14. from Heaven to earth, to *make peace*, (as in heaven,
ſo) upon earth. *Glory be to God on high, on earth*
peace, (ſo ſings that Quire of Angels at the birth
of our Saviour.) This he purchaſed, and having
purchaſed it, he left it, bequeathed it; *Peace I*
Joh.14.27 *leave with you, my peace I give unto you*, (ſaith he to
his Diſciples, when he was to take his laſt farewell
of the world and them.) And let not us, any of us
ſlight this *Legacie*; we will not do ſo by th Lega-
cie of a dying friend. If it be a *Ring*, an embleme
of union and concord, we will weare it for his ſake.
And ſhall we not do the like by the *Legacie of a dy-*
ing Saviour, make much of it, make uſe of it, and
be content to part with ſomething for it, for the
keeping of it, if enjoyed, for the *recovery* of it, if
loſt? By this means ſhall we much further this
bleſſed *Cure*, the filling and making up of the brea-
ches in this our Iſrael, by caſting every one ſome-
thing into them, every one *himſelfe*. I have done
with the directions which meerly concerne *our*
ſelves, which if they may but be taken, and kept,
not nauſeated and caſt up again, as tuely ſtomachs

are.

are wont to deal with their diſtaſtefull Potions; I doubt not, but that they will have a kindely working, conducing much towards the cure deſired, and intended.

Paſſe we in the ſecond place to ſuch directions as may concern *others*, *viz.* thoſe which are or have been *breach-makers* amongſt us; concern them not as *agents*, but as *patients*; teaching us how we are to order and demean our ſelves towards them, what we are to do to them, for them, or againſt them, for the effecting of this Cure. 2. Directions concerning breach-makers, what to do them.

Theſe *Breach-makers* (as I have alreay ſhewn you) the Inſtrumentall cauſes of the preſent breaches in this our Iſrael, they are of two ſorts. Either *Strangers*, or *Iſraelites*. *Strangers*, profeſſed enemies to our Religion; or *Iſraelites*, ſuch as profeſſing the ſame Religion with us for ſubſtance, have beene through weakneſſe ſeduced, and drawne aſide, either from the wayes of *Truth*, or *Peace*. Now what ſhall be done to the one, and to the other?

For anſwer hereunto, I ſhall have recourſe againe to the *Type* in the Text; obſerving what courſe *David* here pitcheth upon, and intendeth to run with both theſe, which were the cauſes of thoſe Breaches in tha this Kingdom. *Strangers*, *Iſraelites*, he would deale with both, but after a different manner; *ſubduing* the one, *reducing* the other. So you ſhall finde it in the 6,7,8, verſes of the Pſalm. As for thoſe which were *enemies* to his Kingdom, *Moabites*, *Edomites*, *&c.* He would *ſubdue* them, and bring them under by force. So much is intended Davids courſe with the breach-makers in his Kingdome.

ded in those two emphaticall expressions, verse 8. *Moab is my wash pot, over Edom will I cast out my shoe.* Each importing a servile and contumelious subjection, (as Expositers note upon it.) *Moab* should be his *wash pot*, a vessell to wash his feet in, according to the custome of those Eastern Countries, then and now, *i. e.* the *Moabites*; they being conquered, should be imployed about base services, and servile offices. *Over Edom* he would *cast out his shoe*, *i. e.* passe through it as a Conquerour, trampling upon it, treading down the Inhabitants under foot, handling them in a disgracefull and contumelious way, as they had done the people of God before. Thus would he deale with the professed enemies of his Kingdom. As for his own people, that seditious party of *Israelites* which cleaved to the house of *Saul*, he would use means to *reduce* them, to bring them under his Government. *I will divide Shechem, and mete out the valley of Succoth*; so you have it verse 6. *i. e.* I will possesse my selfe of them, and rule over them; not as a *Conquerour*, and *Slaves*, but as a Lord over *subjects*, as a Father over Children, owing and acknowledging them as *mine*. *Gilead is mine, and Manasseth is mine*, ver. 7. *i. e.* they are my Inheritance, and shall be my people, my subjects. This was the course which *David* intended to take with these *Breach-makers*, for the making up of the Breaches in his Kingdom. And from him learn we what course is to be taken with the *Breach-makers* amongst us, whether in this, or the neigh bour Kingdom.

Calvin. Mollerus. Somnius.

1. Professed enemies, subdue them.

1. For *Strangers*. *Moabites*, *Edomites*, professed

ſed enemies to our Religion, the only way is to *ſubdue* them; and that by *bringing* under ſome, and *keeping* under others. Thoſe which have been, or are the diſturbers and troublers of our peace, whether in Church or State. The *Malignant-party* of Papiſts, and their Adherents amongſt us, which have ſhewed themſelves active in theſe diſturbances, the way is to bring them under, to *caſt the ſhoe* over them, putting a yoak upon their necks. Not that I intend, what I have no warrant for, to excite and ſtir up any to the unchriſtian exerciſes of ſavage cruelty, or yet rigour, ſo to repay them in their own coyne, as to return cruelty, for cruelty. Yet in the mean time, I muſt ſubſcribe to the equitie of that divine Law, the *Law of Retaliation*, *Levit.* 24. *As a man hath done, ſo ſhall it be done unto him againe, Breach for breach, &c.* Lev. 24. 19, 20. Thoſe which have made a *Breach* upon us, to make a *breach* upon them, were no injuſtice. It is Gods own order to *Moſes*; *Vex the Midianites and ſmite them, for they vex you with their wiles.* Nu. 25. 16 And it is *Joſhuahs* ſpeech to *Achan*; *why haſt thou troubled us, the Lord ſhall trouble thee this day.* Ioſh. 7. 25 Thus to deale with the *Midianites*, the *Achans*, who ever they have been, which have vexed and troubled our *Iſrael*, to *vex* them, to *ſmite* them, were but juſtice. But this I leave to the wiſedom of Superiours, to our *Moſes*, and *Joſhuahs*, of whom I may ſay as *David* did of and to his Son *Solomon* in a like caſe. *They are wiſe, and know what they ought to do unto them.* 1 Kin. 2. 9 To them I referre this act of juſtice; and that as for the *ſuppreſſing*

and

and bringing under of ſome, ſo for the *Repreſſing* and keeping under of others; ſuch as being of the ſame diſpoſition, acted and moved by the ſame principles, want nothing but the opportunitie, either for the cheriſhing and fomenting of theſe, or elſe the kindling and breeding of new diſtractions. Only for our ſelves, let us, all of us remember that ſolemne *Vow* and *Covenant* which of late we have made and entred into, for the joynt defence of our *Royall Soveraign*, His *Parliament*, and *Kingdomes*; *Gods Religion*, againſt all that ſhall riſe up againſt them: And remembring it, let us by all lawfull wayes and means, according to the ſeverall ranks and ſtations wherein God hath ſet us, be ready to perform it.

2. Seduced Brethren.

Paſſe we (in the ſecond place) to the *Breach-makers* amongſt our ſelves, *Iſraelites*, our *Brethren*, ſuch as have been and are ſeduced, and drawn aſide, either from the wayes of *Truth* or *Peace*, and that through weakneſſe: Such I have now to deal with, not preſumptuous malicious oppoſites, to whom the Pſalmiſt would have no mercy extended. *Be not mercifull unto them which offend of malicious wickedneſſe*, (ſo the old Tranſlation reads it;) but ſuch as erre and ſtray through infirmity. And for ſuch, what ſhall we do to them, or for them?

Pſal. 59. 5.

Queſt.

Anſ. To this I anſwer in the generall; Seek to *Reduce* them, to *heale* them. *That which is lame, or turned out of the way, let it be healed*, Heb. 12. And this do we in as gentle and tender away as poſſibly may be; even as we would deal with a bone out of joynt. It is the Apoſtles one Metaphor; *If any*

Reduce them. Heb. 12.

13. With gentleneſſe.

man

man *be overtaken with a fault, reſtore ſuch a one:* Gal. 6. 1. καταρτίζετε, *Put him in joynt again.* And this do (as it there followeth) *in the ſpirit of meekneſſe.*

Q. But how ſhall this be effected? *Anſ.* For the anſwer, let me deſcend into particulars, ſhewing you diſtinctly what every one ſhould do in this caſe. What to be done to this end.

1. What *Publick* perſons are to do?
2. What private?

For the former; *Publick* perſon are
Magiſtrates,
Miniſters.

Begin with the former; *Magiſtrates, Rulers,* who being by office (as *Healers:* ſo) *Shepheards,* (*Cyrus my Shepheard*; they ought to have a care for the reducing and bringing home of ſtraying wandring ſheep. And to this purpoſe, let me commend unto them a two-fold Direction. Directions for Magiſtrats in this caſe. Iſa. 41. laſt.

In the firſt place, let them *take ſtumbling blockes out of the way,* ſuch as are ſo in truth; what ever it is, which being a juſt ground, or obvious occaſion of *ſcandall,* hath either cauſed any to ſtray, or elſe confirmeth them in their ſtraying; ſo either making or maintaining theſe *breaches*; for the *reducing* of the one, and *healing* of the other, this muſt be removed. And this is properly the *Magiſtrates* work to do, or ſee done. Expreſſe is that of the Prophet *Iſaiah, Iſa.* 57. Where the Lord ſpeaking to *Darius and Cyrus,* (as Mr. *Calvin* and others interpret it) giveth them this in charge; that they ſhould remove and take away all the *Remoraes* and *ſtumbling-blocks* out of the way of his people, even 1. Take ſtumbling blocks out of the way.

what ever might hinder their paſſage out of *Babylon*, or return to *Canaan*. *He* (*i. e. the Lord*) *ſhall*
Iſa. 57. 14 *ſay, caſt ye up, caſt ye up, prepare the way, take up the ſtumbling-block out of the way of my people.* What ever it is that may keep any of the Lords people in *Babylon*, or upon the Confines and Borders of *Babylon*; keep them from coming out, or elſe make others to think of returning thither again, it ought to be removed and taken out of the way. Such are all *Reliques*, Monuments, Showes, and apparances of *Idolatrie* and *Superſtition*. And all theſe it is the Magiſtrates dutie to ſee removed and taken away.

2. Set up a Standard for the people. Iſa. 62. verſ. 10.

This being done, then (in the ſecond place) *Let them ſet up a Standard*; ſo the ſame Propher proſecuting the ſame charge elſewhere, he willeth, that for the reducing of the people of God, and gathering them into one bodie, they ſhould erect, and *lift up a Standard* for them. *Prepare the way, &c. Gather off the ſtones* (*i. e.* the *ſtumbling ſtones*) *and lift up a ſtandard for*, (or over) the people (ſo I read it according to the Originall, not (*of*) but (*for*) or (*over*) the *people*.) A Metaphor taken from Princes, who gather their Subjects, or Commanders, who gather their Souldiers into a Warlike poſture and order, by ſetting up a *Standard* which they may repair unto, and follow whether it ſhall be carried before them. So you read of the *Standard of the Camp of the Children of Judah*,
Num. 10. 14. which was carried in the Front of the Armie. Such a *Standard* ſhould the *Commanders* of the Lords Armie, his Church, ſet up for his people. But what Standard? why, even that (ſaith *Bullinger*, writing

עַל-הָעַמִּים Super populos.

viz. Chriſt in his ordinances.

writing upon that Text of the Prophet *Eſay*) which *Simeon* ſpeaks of in the 2. *Luke*; *Behold this Child* (ſaith he, ſpeaking of Chriſt) *is ſet up for a ſigne*; *in Greeke*, *a ſigne, an Enſigne, a Standard.* Behold, the *Standard of the people*, which all the Lords Commanders ſhould labour to ſet up for them, even the ſame which *Moſes* typically erected in the Wilderneſſe, the *Brazen Serpent* lift up on high, on a pearch or pole, a lively repreſentation of Chriſt lift up upon the Croſſe, as our Saviour himſelfe (for I conceive the words to be his) expounds it, 3. *John.* This is the *Standard* which ſhould be ſet up. And how ſhould it be ſet up? Why by the *Preaching of the Goſpel*; (ſo the ſame Expoſiter proſecutes it.) Gods Miniſters they are the Lords *Standard-bearers*, whoſe office it is to carry this *Standard* before the people, as the Prieſts under the Law did the *Arke*; and this they are to do by the preaching of the Goſpel. Set up Chriſt, by the preaching of Chriſt. Hereby is this *Standard* ſet up, Chriſt being in the preaching of the word, as it were lift up upon the Croſſe before the eys of the people. So *Paul* telleth his *Galathians*, that *Chriſt* had *been evidently ſet forth, and crucified before their eyes, viz.* in and by the preaching of the Goſpel. By this means is this *Standard* ſet up; and this is the beſt means for the gathering the people into one bodie. Oh then let all in their places, ſpecially the Commanders in the Lords Armie amongſt us (to whom after a ſpeciall manner it belongeth) as they deſire the reducing of ſtraying wandring ſouls, and the uniting of all into one

Luk. 2. 34.

Num. 21. 9.

Ioh. 3. 14.

Deu. 10. 8. 31. 9.

Gal. 3. 1.

body, let them by all meanes endeavour to ſet up this *Standard*, providing as much as in them lyeth for the liberty and free paſſage of the Goſpel, that this *ſtandard* may be ſet up where it hath not yet been ſeen, that it be continued and diſplaied more and more where it is erected.

This is the only way of gathering the people.

And here let not any think or fear that this will be a means to ſcatter the people (as ſome, no wel-willers to the Goſpel) are ready enough to do, who ſtick not to charge all our diviſions upon the Goſpel, and the Preaching therof; as if the clocking of the Hen, were the means to ſever and ſcatter the the Chickins. No, this is the only means of gathering them. *Oh Jeruſalem, how often would I have gathered thy children together*, (ſaith our Saviour) *viz.* by the ſending out of Prophets and Apoſtels, and Miniſters to them, to ſet up Chriſt in the Miniſtery of the Word, as in other of his ordinances, to ſet him up, and that not only in his *Prieſtly*, and *Prophetical*, but alſo in his *Kingly* office; not only as the *Saviour* and *Teacher*, but as the *King* and *Ruler*, and *Law-giver* of his Church. And here let me repaire again to the *Type*. *David* here projecting and propounding to himſelf the way and means of reducing his own ſubjects, and bringing them to unitie; amongſt other, he pitcheth up this, that *Judah* ſhould be his *Law-giver*. *Judah is* (or *ſhall be*) *my Law-giver*, *i.e.* all his ſubjects ſhould be brought under one *Head*, one Governour, who ſhould give them Lawes according to which they ſhould be ordered and governed, which power and authority belonged to the Tribe of *Judah*, according

Mat. 23. 37.

verſ. 7. Let Iudah be the Law-giver.

ing to that Prophecie of *Jacob Gen.* 49. to which Ge.49.10
the Pſalmiſt here alludeth. No way, no means to bring the people unto unitie, to bring them into one *body*, but by bringing them under one *head*, one *Law-giver*, by whoſe Laws they may be regulated and governed. Now in the Church, and in matters of Religion, this one *Head* is *Chriſt*, even that *Lyon of the Tribe of Judah*, as he is called *Reve.* 5. He Reve.5.5.
is the *Law-giver* of his Church, and let him ſo be. This will be found one; I, and the only means to breed an holy and Religious unitie, to reduce and bring home ſtraying, wandering *ſheepe*, (for ſuch, and only ſuch they are that I now have to deal with or ſpeak for; *ſheep*, not *wolves*, ſuch as ſeek to make a prey of the flock, whom I put in the former rank, reckoning them as enemies.) And ſo conſequently for the repairing and healing of theſe Breaches. It was the firſt thing which *David* looked at, as giving to his Kingdom hopes of a *Cure* of theſe *breaches*; but God had *given a Banner*, an *Enſigne* to his people, ſetting *David* over them as their *head*, *verſ.* 4.

You ſee what *Magiſtrates* and *Rulers* the Lords Commanders amongſt us ought to do, or ſee done; and for this they ſhall have my prayers, as well as directions, that they may do it.

But what ſhall we of the *Miniſtery* do? This is the next *head* which I ſhould have now fallen with, but time taketh me off for the preſent. This with what remains of this point, I ſee I muſt yet adjourn till another occaſion.

ISRAELS CURE.

The fift SERMON.

April 6.

PSAL. 60. Ver. 2.

Heale the Breaches thereof, &c.

THe *healing of Iſraels breaches, is a Cure which every true Iſraelite ſhould ſeriouſly deſire, and endeavour.* Once more this uſefull concluſion commeth to hand, which I have already proſecuted by way of *Doctrine* and *Application.* I yet ſtick in the latter of theſe, the latter part of it; wherein my deſigne was to lay you downe ſome *Rules* and *directions* for the furthering of this deſired *Cure* in the Church of God amongſt us. Theſe directions we ranked into two ſorts; ſome wherof were *reſtorative*, others *preſervative.* Of the former ſort we found ſome concerning *our ſelves*, others of them concerning *others*, *viz.* thoſe which have beene and are *Breach-makers* amongſt us, teaching us how to order our ſelves towards them.

them. Theſe *breach-makers* (as you have heard) are either *ſtrangers*, or *Iſraelites*. *Strangers*, enemies to our Religion, or rather Gods Religion profeſſed amongſt us; with theſe we have done. *Iſraelites*, ſome of our *brethren* who through infirmitie and weaknes have been ſeduced and drawn aſide, either from the wayes of *truth* or *peace*. Concerning them the queſtion was; what ſhall be done to them, or for them? This we anſwered generally, let them be *reduced*, and brought home with all tenderneſſe and gentleneſſe. More particularly, for full ſatisfaction, I entred upon a way of giving to every one his portion. Shewing firſt, what *publike perſons* are to do. Secondly, what *private*. *Publike perſons* are either *Magiſtrates* or *Miniſters*. The former of theſe have had their directions, which the Lord teach them to make a good uſe of. It remains now that we come to the latter, and ſo proceed to that which remains.

2. What ſhall we of the *Miniſtery* do? For anſwer, as briefly as I may. Gods *Miniſters*, they are alſo by office *healers*. *They have healed the hurt of the Daughter of my people ſlightly*, ſo the Lord complains of the falſe Prophets. To *heale* was their office, that they did it *ſlightly* was their error. And what ſhall they do that they may be *healers* in truth, furthering this *Cure*, by reducing thoſe which are gone aſtray, which is a part of their office (they being alſo the Lords *Shepheards*) to ſeeke ſtraying wandring ſheepe, and finding them to bring them home again. To this purpoſe, let them make uſe of a three-fold direction (the beſt that either my read-

2. Directions for miniſters. Iere. 6. 14

Eze. 34. v. 2, 7, 8. &c. Mat. 18. 12.

reading, or experience will furnish me with.) Let them first be *blameleſſe in their lives.* Secondly, *Painfull in their Callings.* Thirdly, *Meek and wiſe in their carriage.* I will but touch upon each, having a reſpect to the Audience.

1.
Let them be blameleſſe in their lives 1 Tim. 3.

1. *Blameleſſe in their lives* ἀνεπίλημπτοι. This *Paul* requires from his *Biſhop* or *Paſtour*, for in that place they are both one. *A Biſhop muſt be blameleſſe.* *Blameleſſe, viz.* in life and converſation, *walking* (as it is ſaid of *Zacharias* the Prieſt, and his wife *Elizabeth*) ἄμεμπτοι: *without juſt reproofe.*

2.

This *blameleſneſſe* of life and converſation, conſiſteth in three things. You have them all together in that knowne place, 2 Tit. *viz.* in living Tit. 2. 13. First, *ſoberly.* Secondly, *righteouſly.* Thirdly, *godly.* All which (as all Chriſtians, ſo) the Miniſters of the Goſpel ought to have a ſpeciall regard unto; to live *Godly*, that they may be Patterns of *Piety*, and *Holineſſe*; to live *righteouſly*, that they may be patterns of *Juſtice* and *Integritie*; to live *ſoberly*, that they may be patterns of *Sobrietie* and *Temperance.* In all being *Enſamples to the flocke*, (as Saint *Peter* hath it;) that ſo thoſe which are weake, may not ſtumble at their *lives*; which being *ſcandalous*, are great *ſcandals*, bringing an evill report upon the wayes and *Ordinances* of God. 1 Pet. 5. 3.

We know what is ſaid of *Elies* Sonnes; how that they by their ſcandalous lives and courſes, *made men even to abhorre the offering of the Lord.* And ſurely it cannot be denied, 1 Sa. 2. 17

(I

(I would not uncover it; if it could be hid) but that the ſame cauſe amongſt us hath had the ſame effect; Many being turned aſide, and many others confirmed in their ſtrayings, and that by reaſon of the ſcandalous lives of ſome of the *ſons of Aaron*. To help to make up theſe *Breaches*, let all the Lords Prieſts, which ſerve at his Altar, have *Holineſſe to the Lord* written (as in their *Hearts*, ſo) in their *foreheads*; That their lives, and converſations may be *ſober*, *Righteous*, *Godly*, every wayes *Blameleſſe*, then which, there will be found no meanes more effectuall for the reducing of thoſe which are gone aſtray. Exod. 28. 36. 38.

2. Being *Blameleſſe* in their Lives, let them (in the 2d place) be *Painfull in their Callings*, [a] *watching over their flocks*, [b] *Feeding them*, [c] *Warning them*, not turning over the overſight, and care of them unto others, which without queſtion hath beene, and is no ſmall cauſe, or occaſion of ſtraying unto many, and ſo of making, or increaſing theſe *Breaches*. When *Vzzah* and *Ahio* and the reſt of the Levites for their own eaſe, ſhifted off the *Ark* of God from their own *ſhoulders*, (which ſhould have been the *ſupporters* of it) and laid it upon the *Carts*, the *Ark* it ſelf was ſhaken, endangered, and a *Breach* thereby made, as you may ſee, 2 *Sam.* 6. To remedy and prevent the like evils that might happen to the Religion and Church of God amongſt us, let the Lords Miniſters take the *Ark* of God upon their own ſhoulders, putting not their *hands only*, (as *Vzzah* there did) but their *ſhoulders* alſo, (as *Vzzah* ſhould have done) to

[a] Painfull in their Callings.
[a] Luke 2. 8.
[a] Tim 4. 5.
[b] Acts 20. 28.
[c] Ib. verſe 31.
Num. 4. 11.
2 Sam. 6. v. 6. 8.

the work, ſeriouſly intending the work of the
2 Tim. 4. 2. Lord, *Preaching the Word, being inſtant in ſeaſon, and out of ſeaſon,* (as S. *Paul* chargeth it upon his *Timothy*) *reproving, Rebuking, Exhorting,* and that with all *long-ſuffering.*

3. Meek and wiſe in their carriage.

3. Let them bee *Meek and Wiſe in their Carriage.* I put theſe two together, therein following our Saviour, who willeth his Apoſtles, whom he ſendeth forth to preach the Goſpel, that they
Mat. 10. 16. ſhould bee *Wiſe as Serpents, ſimple as Doves.* Let the Miniſters of Chriſt have an eye to both.

2 Tim. 2. 24. Meek, bearing with infirmities of weake Brethren.

To *Meekneſſe; The ſervant of the Lord muſt not ſtrive,* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *but be gentle unto all men, Patient,* ἀνεχόμενος, *Bearing, forbearing.* A Grace, and vertue which the Miniſters of Chriſt had never more need, or more exerciſe of, then at this day. *In Meekneſſe inſtructing thoſe which oppoſe themſelves,* (ſo the Apoſtle there goeth on) ἀντιδιατιθεμένους, *i. e.* (ſaith *Beza*) τοὺς ἐναντίᾳ φρονοῦντας, Men which are contrary minded, to whom the Truth is not yet fully, and clearly revealed. Such *Inſtruct with meekneſſe.* This will be found the next way to reduce them; not to fly upon them with tart and bitter invectives, ſpitting gall, and vinegar in their faces, nor yet preſently to fall upon wayes of compulſion, making uſe of the *Brachium ſeculare,* calling in the *ſecular power,* (which yet in ſome caſes may be done, though in the laſt place, as being the laſt remedy) but by *Inſtructing them with Meekneſſe.* Thus dealeth the good ſhepheard with his tender ſheep, if it be ſtrayed from the fold,
Luke 15. 5. finding it, he doth not preſently ſet his Dog upon

it to worrie it, but he *layeth it upon his shoulders*, and so bringeth it home; such *bearing*, *forbearing*, must the Ministers of Christ use in reducing, and bringing home straying, wandring sheep, instructing them with *Meekneſſe*, waiting *if peradventure God will give them repentance to the acknowledgement of the truth, and that they may recover themselves out of the snares of the Devil*, (as it there followeth.) Let them be *Meek*, 2 Tim. 2. 25, 26

But *Wiſe*, I adde this to the other, as being very requiſite; *Who is a wiſe man* (ſaith S. Iames) &c. *Let him ſhew out of a good converſation his works with Meekneſſe of wiſdome.* Such a *Meekneſſe* becometh the Man of God, not the meekneſſe of *Puſillanimity*, and *weakneſſe*, but the meekneſſe of *wiſdome*. *A wiſe meekneſſe*, that ſo whilſt he beareth with the weakneſſe of others, he may not *feed* it, nourish it; not ſo bearing and forbearing as that he ſhould thereby, in ſtead of rectifying, and reducing, rather confirme, and ſtrengthen others in their deviations, and wandrings. A Caution of great uſe, and I wiſh it may be accordingly regarded by all. It was ſo by the bleſſed Apoſtle, who though he condeſcended to the weakneſſe of ſome neere converted Iews in *Circumciſing Timothy*, yeelding to the uſe of that Rite, not as a *neceſſary Sacrament*, but as an *Indifferent Ceremony*, (ſo Mr *Calvin* conceives of it) uſing it *ad fovendam charitatem, non ad pietatis exercitium*, (they are his words) not as a *Religious Exercise*, an Ordinance, but as a meanes to preſerve *Vnity* and *Charity*; yet afterwards he would not doe the like by *Titus*, nor Wiſe, not feeding their weakneſſe. Iam. 3. 13. Acts 16 3. Gal. 2. 3.

yet yeeld that it ſhould be done, and that becauſe he would not, by betraying Gods truth, and the Churches liberty, confirme and ſtrengthen others in that erroneous opinion, which they had of the *neceſſity* of that then *Indifferent Ceremony*, as you may ſee it in the 2^d *Gal.* Thus *Paul* was willing to yeeld to the weak Brethren in what he might, but yet ſo, as that he would by no meanes feed their weakneſſe, by confirming them in their *Iudaiſme*. Therefore was it that he, who in other caſes (*Chameleon* like) became (as himſelf ſaith) *All things to all*, *To the Iewes a Iew, to the Gentiles a Gentile, to the weak, weak*; that ſo *By all meanes he might gain ſome*, yet when *Peter* was fallen into that unwarrantable *Separation*, *withdrawing* and *ſeparating himſelf from the Gentiles*, breaking off open, and viſible communion with them, and that becauſe of the Iews, with whom he deſired to comply more then was fitting, this *Paul* could not, would not beare with, or connive at, but thereupon breaks forth into an open Reprehenſion. When he ſaw that they did not ὀρθοποδεῖν, that *Peter* and the reſt, which were by his example drawn into the like *Diſſimulation*, they *Halted*, and *did not walk with an upright foot according to the Truth of the Goſpel*, he reproves him *openly*. This did he. And this (I take) will be warrant ſufficient to beare me out (as in my practiſe in ſome other * particulars, ſo) in what I have lately done, in ſpeaking openly againſt the *new ſeparation* of thoſe whom I taxed by the name of *Browniſts*. A Terme too well known to the Church of God: ſo

1 Cor. 9. v. 19, 20, 21, 22.

Gal. 2. 12.

*The uſe of the Lords Prayer. A warrant for ſpeaking againſt Brownists, & whom meant thereby.

ſo well, that (for my part) I cannot but wonder that it ſhould now ſeeme to need any explanation. Yet for ſatisfaction to thoſe who otherwiſe happily might either take *offence* at it, or *advantage* by it, (both which I deſire equally to decline) I ſhall *actum agere*, doe that againe which I then did. When I named the word, I explained whom I meant by it, viz. *Such as renounce all Communion with us*; and with the Churches of God in this Kingdome. I now adde, ſuch as doe this upon this ground, becauſe our *Churches* (as they conceive, and doome them) are *Antichriſtian* Churches, our *Miniſters* Antichriſtian Miniſters, our *Worſhip* Antichriſtian worſhip, neither true Churches, nor true Miniſters, nor true worſhip, all *Antichriſtian*. A charge both harſh and heavy. In impoſing whereof, little doe they think what ſervice they doe to that *Antichriſt*, whom they pretend to fly from. It is a charge laid upon them by a late reverend, Godly-learned Divine, and let them ſee how they can diſcharge it, for my part I cannot. That *They, though they doe not in words maintaine Antichriſt, yet really they doe him more credit then his chiefe upholders*. A charge as heavy as the former; But how ſhall it be made good againſt them? Why? even out of this Charge of theirs, wherein they charge our *Churches*, and *Miniſters*, and *worſhip* to bee *Antichriſtian*. For herein, what doe they but confeſſe and acknowledge (which they cannot, I think will not deny) *That in Antichriſtian Churches* (I will uſe the words of my Author) *the entire Faith may be purely profeſſed*,

Maſters Balls Anſwer to Maſter Cans Treatiſes, in the Anſwer to the Epiſtles.

Browniſts doe more credit to Antichriſt then his chiefe upholders.

fessed, the Doctrine of salvation plentifully preached, the seales of the Covenant for substance rightly administred, and by the blessing of God upon his owne meanes, Christian soules ordinarily converted, and nourished up unto life eternal, which is much more then all the factors for Antichrist shall ever be able to make good, And if true, nothing could be said more to the praise of Antichristianisme. Thus far he: This was the error I then glanced at, and (I think) not without either cause, or warrant, It being an error of very great dangerous consequence, tending most directly to the making of a Breach, and therefore not to be connived or winked at, lest by our continued silence we should seeme to betray *Gods Truth*, his *Churches Innocency*, and confirme and strengthen those in their errour, whose weakneſse we are willing, as much as may bee, to beare with. And this all the Ministers of Christ ought to have a speciall regard unto, and I pray God they may have it, that so whilst out of *Meekneſs* they bear & forbeare, which they ought to doe, they may not through *Imprudence* feed and nourish the weakneſse of any, which they ought not to doe.

I have done with what belongs to *Publike* persons, both *Magistrates*, and *Ministers*. What shall *Private* person doe in this Case? How shall they order, and demeane themselves towards those which are turned aside? To give them their portion in a few words, Let them only reflect upon that 3d and last Direction given to Ministers, and let them make use of it, of both parts of it, viz. Let them carry themselves towards all such,

Directions for Private persons.

First,

First, with *Meekneſſe*: Secondly, with *Wiſedome*.

1. *With Meekneſſe.* It is S. *Pauls* own direction, which he not only propounds to, but preſſeth upon his *Epheſians*. *Theſeech you* (ſaith he) *that you walke worthy of the vocation wherewith yee are called, with all Lowlineſſe, and Meekneſſe, with long ſuffering, forbearing one another in love: Indeavouring to keepe the unitie of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace.* It were to be wiſhed, and it is to bee indeavoured, that there might be a *Vnitie in Iudgement* betwixt all the Lords people, that they might bee all of *one minde*: But this is not to bee looked for upon earth. In the meane time let them indeavour to keepe the *Vnitie of the ſpirit*, that they bee all of *one Heart*. And to that end let them walke with *Lowlineſſe and Meekneſſe*, bearing, forbearing one another in *Love*, ready to performe all Chriſtian offices to their weake brethren, ſo indeavouring to winne and overcome them by *love*.

1. Walke in meekneſſe. Epheſ. 4. 1, 2.

2. Thus walking in *Love and Meekneſſe*, let them alſo walke in *Wiſedome*. It is *Pauls* direction to his *Coloſſians*. *Walke in wiſedome towards them which are without.* He ſpake it of Infidels and Heathens. Amongſt ſuch wee doe not live, and yet wee may walke amongſt ſome which are *without*: Such as either are not, nor ever were *of us*, or elſe ſuch as are gone *out from us*, in the way aforeſaid, of whom I will not, I dare not ſay as S. *Iohn* doth of thoſe *Antichriſtian Apoſtates*, That *They went out from us, becauſe they were not of us*; No. I hope of many of them (if there be many) I both have hope of us, and are of us, true members.

2. In Wiſedome. Col. 4. 5.

1 Joh. 2. 19.

bers of the ſame myſticall Body, though ſevered in reſpect of outward, viſible Communion with us. (*Peter* was a good and an holy man, though for a time hee *ſeparated himſelfe*, ἀφώριζεν ἑαυτὸν; Gal. 12.) And towards ſuch walke in *wiſedome*, that we may neither *doe*, nor *receive* hurt: Neither doe hurt to them, nor receive hurt from them: *Doe* hurt to them by ſo complying with them, as that wee ſhould confirme and ſtrengthen them in their errors, or elſe *receive* hurt, by drawing in any unwholſome breath from them, as *Barnabas* and many others did from *Peter*, who by the prevalencie of his example were carried away with the ſtreame of that his unwarrantable *ſeparation*.

Gal 1. 12, 13.

And thus I have as briefly as I could laid you downe the firſt ſort of Directions, *Reſtorative* directions, tending to the *Repayring and Healing of Breaches* already made.

The other ſort are yet behind, *preſervative* directions, tending to the preventing of the like *Breaches* for the time to come. In theſe I will bee briefe, haſting as faſt as I can to the Concluſion of this point, which hath (I confeſſe) fled before mee farther then at the firſt I made account of.

Preſervative Directions.

Phyſitians having recovered their *Patients*, they doe not ſend them away without ſome directions and Inſtructions for preventing of *relapſes*. Thus dealt our Bleſſed Saviour with that Patient of his, that *impotent* perſon whom hee had reſtored to the uſe of his limbs; meeting him in the Temple he bids him, *Goe thy way and ſinne no more, leſt a worſe thing come unto thee.* Following this

Joh. 5. 14.

Courſe,

courſe, having layed downe a Method for the *Curing* and *Healing* of theſe *Breaches*, let me briefly ſhew you (if ever God pleaſe to worke a *Cure* upon us) what is to bee done for the preventing of *Relapſes* in this kinde; and ſo for the preſerving of *peace* and *unity* in the Church of God being once reſtored to it. And here, (as in the former) I ſhall deale particularly, giving to every one his portion, dealing firſt with *Publicke* perſons, and amongſt them with *Magiſtrates*, to whom I ſhall here againe commend onely a twofold direction, each being an off-ſet from the former directions which I propounded to them as *Reſtoratives*. For Magiſtrates.

1. Having cleared the Churches way by taking the *ſtumbling-blocks* out of it, *Let them keep it cleare*, and that by vindicating, and aſſerting (as much as may bee) that which wee call *Chriſtian libertie*, the *libertie of Conſcience in the uſe of things indifferent*; providing that that may not bee preſſed and burdened with unneceſſary burdens. To this purpoſe I ſhall onely propound to them a *Preſident*, viz: that of the *Apoſtles*, 15 *Acts*. who having in that *Councell* or *Synode* of theirs diſputed and debated the differences betwixt the *Iewes* and *Gentiles*, at length they agree upon it, what courſe to take for the ſetling, and keeping of peace in the Churches: The Reſult of all with their Conſultations you have in the 28. and 29. Verſes of that Chapter. *It ſeemed good to the Holy Ghoſt, and to us, to lay upon you no greater burdens then theſe neceſſarie things, viz: That yee abſtaine from meats offered to Idols, &c.* In which Determination of theirs

Keepe the way cleare from ſtumbling-blocks, by aſſerting Chriſtian libertie.

Not ſuffering Conſcience to bee preſſed with unneceſſary Burdens. Act. 15.

Verſ. 28. 29.

bers of the ſame myſticall Body, though ſevered in reſpect of outward, viſible Communion with us. (*Peter* was a good and an holy man, though for a time hee *ſeparated himſelfe*, ἀφώριζεν ἑαυτὸν, Gal. 12.) And towards ſuch walke in *wiſedome*, that we may neither *doe*, nor *receive* hurt: Neither doe hurt to them, nor receive hurt from them: *Doe* hurt to them by ſo complying with them, as that wee ſhould confirme and ſtrengthen them in their errors, or elſe *receive* hurt, by drawing in any unwholſome breath from them, as *Barnabas* and many others did from *Peter*, who by the prevalencie of his example were carried away with the ſtreame of that his unwarrantable *ſeparation*.

Gal 1. 12, 13.

And thus I have as briefly as I could laid you downe the firſt ſort of Directions, *Reſtorative* directions, tending to the *Repayring and Healing of Breaches* already made.

The other ſort are yet behind, *preſervative* directions, tending to the preventing of the like *Breaches* for the time to come. In theſe I will bee briefe, haſting as faſt as I can to the Concluſion of this point, which hath (I confeſſe) fled before mee farther then at the firſt I made account of.

Preſervative Directions.

Phyſitians having recovered their *Patients*, they doe not ſend them away without ſome directions and Inſtructions for preventing of *relapſes*. Thus dealt our Bleſſed Saviour with that Patient of his, that *impotent* perſon whom hee had reſtored to the uſe of his limbs; meeting him in the Temple he bids him, *Goe thy way and ſinne no more, leſt a worſe thing come unto thee.* Following this

Joh. 5. 14.

Courſe,

course, having layed downe a Method for the *Curing* and *Healing* of these *Breaches*, let me briefly shew you (if ever God please to worke a *Cure* upon us) what is to bee done for the preventing of *Relapses* in this kinde; and so for the preserving of *peace* and *unity* in the Church of God being once restored to it. And here, (as in the former) I shall deale particularly, giving to every one his portion, dealing first with *Publicke* persons; and amongst them with *Magistrates*, to whom I shall here againe commend onely a twofold direction, each being an off-set from the former directions which I propounded to them as *Restoratives*. For Magistrates.

1. Having cleared the Churches way by taking the *stumbling-blocks* out of it, *Let them keep it cleare*, and that by vindicating, and asserting (as much as may bee) that which wee call *Christian libertie*, the *libertie of Conscience in the use of things indifferent*; providing that that may not bee pressed and burdened with unnecessary burdens. To this purpose I shall onely propound to them a *President*, viz: that of the *Apostles*, 15 *Acts*. who having in that *Councell* or *Synode* of theirs disputed and debated the differences betwixt the *Iewes* and *Gentiles*, at length they agree upon it, what course to take for the setling, and keeping of peace in the Churches. The Result of all with their Consultations you have in the 28. and 29. Verses of that Chapter. *It seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us, to lay upon you no greater burdens then these necessarie things, viz. That yee abstaine from meats offered to Idols, &c.* In which Determination of theirs there

Keepe the way cleare from stumbling-blocks, by asserting Christian libertie.

Not suffering Conscience to bee pressed with unnecessary Burdens. Act. 15.

Vers. 28. 29.

there are three things very considerable; first, the *Injunctions* which they impose upon the Churches were viz: few, not many. Secondly, *Necessary*, though not in themselves, yet *pro tempore*, for that time. Thirdly, they were *Negative*, which intrench lesse upon Conscience then *Affirmatives* doe. In all these I doe not peremptorily prescribe what *Magistrates* (those which have authority) ought to see done: I onely propound a *President*, which if followed, I conceive it will tend much to the continuance, and settlement of the Churches peace. Sure I am; if *burdens*, and unnecessarie burdens bee imposed, whether directly upon the conscience, or having reference unto conscience, either wee must introduce, and set up that Popish Idoll, a *blind obedience*, (which some of late have cryed up for the *best obedience*) that so men may swallow downe all without chewing, or else give inevitable occasion unto *scandall*, and consequently unto *Breaches*.

2. Having set up a Standard, let them make it a Standard.

2. (In the second place) having set up a *standard* for the people, let them *make it a Standard*, by their authority enjoyning, and requiring all in the publicke exercise of Religion to observe the same *rule* and *order*, the same *forme of Publicke worship*, regulated (as neere as may bee) by the lawes of Christ in his Word, and so made conformable to that patterne, that *standard*: Not permitting every one therein to use what *weights*, and *measures* they please, to *doe what is right in their owne eyes* (as it was in *Israel* when there was no *King*, and as it is amongst us at this day in this unhap-

Deut. 12. 8.

Judg. last cap. and Verse.

py

py *Interregnum* of the Church) which, if given way unto, will prove a *passing-bell* to the Churches peace where ever it is admitted. It is noted of the tenne *Bases* in the *Temple* which were made to *beare* and *carrie* the ten *Lavers* upon their *wheeles*, *They had all of them one casting, one measure, and one size.* Of such use is outward *order* to *publicke Ordinances*, a *vehiculum* serving to beare and carrie them *super Rotis suis* (as the originall hath that of the *Wiseman.* 25. *Prov.* 11. *A word spoken upon his wheeles*, so our margin readeth it according to the Hebrew) upon the *Wheeles* of meete and convenient circumstances, as *Time*, *Place*, *manner*, &c. that so they may bee the more serviceable, and usefull; And being so, it is most fit it should bee *uniforme.* But I must but touch upon things. This for *Magistrates.*

1 King. 7. 27. 30. 37.

Prov. 25. 11. Super Rotis suis Montan.

As briefly for *Ministers*, to whom also I shall commend but two directions.

Directions for Ministers.

First, Let them *seriously intend the mayne worke of their Ministerie*, therein looking right *forwards*; as it is said of the *Philistines* kine which drew the *Arke* to *Bethshemesh*, *They tooke the streight way, and went along the high way, and turned not aside, to the right hand, nor to the left.* Thus should the Lords Ministers doe; In Carrying the *Arke* of the Lord before his people, let them goe right on, in the *Kings high way*, (Gods way) not turning aside to the right hand or to the left, not seeking their *owne things*, their owne ends, their owne profit, credit, popular applause, or the like, but let them both *looke*, and *goe* right forward, seeking

I. Let them look, and goe right forwards. 1 Sam. 6. 12.

Phil. 2. 21.

the glory of God, and the salvation of his peoples soules. Noe such way for them to preserve, and maintaine peace in the Church as this.

Luke 2. 14. It is the song of the Angels at the birth of our Saviour, *Glory bee to God in the highest, on Earth peace, Good will towards men.* O that all the *Angels of the Churches* would but have a respect to the first, and last of these, seeking the *Glory* of God, and expressing their *Good will* towards his people by seeking their salvation, then no doubt but the second would fall in betwixt them, there would bee Peace on Earth, peace in the Church.

Labour for unitie amongst themselves. Secondly, Let them labour as much as may be for an holy *unitie and Agreement amongst themselves*: that they may not bee divided, not in *Iudgement*, if it might bee, however not in *Affection*, that though they bee not of one *minde* in all things, yet they may bee of one *heart*, I meane, with those which desire to bee *found faithfull*, following the *Truth* according to the measure of light vouchsafed: in this Case, though there bee some differences in Iudgement (as some there will bee) yet let not these hinder their walking together in Love. A lesson which we may learne even from those creatures which of all other are most quarrelsome, (Pardon the homelinesse of the similitude, the aptnesse shall make amends for it.) A packe of *Hounds* in the field, in hunting they chop upon diverse trayles, and scents, some of them traversing this way, others that, yet in as much as they all hunt the

same game, and follow the same chase, how well doe they agree, and accord amongst themselves? From them (for there is no creature so meane, but man (who was once their master) may now goe to schoole to it) let the Ministers of Christ learne a Christian harmonie. As long as they are all followers of the *Truth*, the same Truth, though with some difference about the finding it out, yet let them follow the *Truth in Love*, by all meanes seeking after an holy concord, and agreement betwixt themselves, which will bee of great use in preserving peace, and unity amongst the people. And to this end, Let them,

First, *Reverence, and esteeme highly of one another*; (I meane so many as they see painfull and godly) not *despising*, not contemning them in respect of some *differences* in *Judgement*, or *disparitie* in *parts*, and Gifts, but still upholding the esteeme of them in their owne hearts, and labouring by all means to uphold and maintaine their credits and reputes in the estimation of others. Maintaining the credit each of other. Rom. 14. 3.

Secondly, Let them by all meanes *avoid open Contests*. If there bee private differences betwixt them, let them not breake forth to a publicke view, nor yet come into a popular cognizance, by *Pulpit-jars* and *Clashings*, which, for my own part, as I have ever desired to decline, so I shall ever indeavour to doe it, though (I might say) justly provoked to it. It was a good direction of a late godly, learned, and judicious Divine of our Church, one that was no friend (I am sure) either in judgement or practise to the supposed Corrup- Avoyding Pulpit-jars, & Publicke contests.

M. Hilderch m. Lect. 65. upon Ioh. 4. cap.

tions in it. *It is not* (ſaith he) *to bee held want of Zeale, or alteration in Iudgement, but true wiſdome in a Miniſter, to ſhun in his Miniſtery, and doctrine (ſo far as in him lyeth) thoſe points which Brethren differ in, and to ſpend his time in ſuch points wherein we all agree, and which are more profitable for the People to know. Paul kept back nothing that was profitable.* And let not any here conceive that my ſelf have runne counter to this Direction, in ſpeaking againſt that dangerous error of thoſe, which, upon the grounds aforeſaid, *Renounce all Communion* with us: Wherein I have done no more then

Acts 20. 20.

Comment. ſup. 1 Sam. in Ep. Dedicat.

that Author himſelfe (whom that induſtrious Dr *Willet*, for his zeale and abilities ſhewed in that quarrell, calleth *Browniſtarum malleum*, the *Hammer of Browniſts*) frequently and ſtrenuouſly doth both in that Tract, and in other of his writings. But I have yet divers particulars to touch upon, which I ſee I muſt but name, willing to diſcharge my ſelfe of this point at the preſent, which hath hung in my hands longer then I made account of.

Directions for Private Perſos.

For *Private Perſons* what ſhall they doe?

I. Labour for Humble hearts.

1. In the firſt place, let them labour for *Humble Hearts*. A ſoveraigne Preſervative againſt theſe Breaches. What is it that maketh them? *Pride. Onely by Pride commeth Contention* (ſaith the Wiſeman.) *He that is of a proud heart ſtirreth up ſtrife.* This is *The Breach-maker*, and making theſe Breaches it maintains them. As long as there is *proud fleſh* in a wound, it will not heale, or if it doe, it will breake forth againe. For the *Healing* of theſe

Prov. 13. 10. c. 28. v. 25.

Breaches,

Breaches, so healing them that they may not break forth againe, labour to get the *proud flesh* cut out of our *Hearts*, all of us seeking for humble spirits. A generall direction; To which I may subjoine 3. other particulars being subordinate, and subservient to it. You shall find them all together laid down by the Apostle in that one verse, v. 16. of the 12. chap. to the *Romanes*: where the Apostle exhorting his Romanes to an holy *unanimitie* and agreement, that they should *be of the same mind one towards another*, he sheweth them by what means they should both attaine it, and keepe it: First, *Mind not high things*: Secondly, *Condescend to men of low estate*: Thirdly, *Be not wise in your conceit*: All of them very usefull for the present times, And I wish Christians would make use of them. Rom. 12. 16.

First, *Mind not high things*: things above your reach. By this means women with child sometimes come to miscarry, by *reaching too high*. And surely this hath been, and is none of the least causes of some of those *miscarriages* amongst us: Private Christians, (whose reach and apprehension is but short and shallow, yet) they will ὑψηλὰ φρονεῖν, be reaching at *High things*, things above their reach and capacity, and beyond their *line*; (I spare particulars) whilst in the mean time they neglect those fundamentals of *Faith* and *Repentance*, both the study and practice of them. Beware of this Presumption, remembring that weake Brains being set on high are subject to a *Vertigo*, a *Giddinesse*. Not minding high things above their reach.

Secondly,

Condeſcending to weak Chriſtians.

Secondly, *Condeſcend to men of low eſtate.* Deſpiſe not poore Chriſtians, weake Chriſtians; though neither their *eſtates*, nor *parts*, nor *places*, nor *graces*, bee anſwerable unto yours, yet deſpiſe them not. But *condeſcend* to them, cloſe with them; If they be ſuch as doe [illegible], indeavour to walk uprightly according to the meaſure of light and grace received, be not aſhamed to owne, and honour the graces of God in them; bearing with their weakneſſes, and infirmities, conſidering that the ſtrong God (whoſe *power is made perfect in weakneſſe*) *is able to make them ſtand*; And that they may be as neceſſary and uſefull members to the Body as thy ſelfe, though not ſo *honourable.*

2 Cor. 12. 9. Rom. 14. 4. 1 Cor. 12. 22, &c.

Not being wiſe in their own Conceits. Prov. 3. 7. Eſay 5. 21.

Thirdly, *Be not wiſe in our own conceits:* In our *owne Eyes*, (ſo the Wiſeman hath it) to whom the Prophet *Eſay* denounceth a *woe, woe unto them.* I, and *woe* oft-times to the Church becauſe of them. No ſuch a *Breach-maker* as this (as I have ſhewn you already.) Every of us beware of it, being ever jealous of *our ſelves*, ready to ſuſpect our owne judgements in points controverſall, where we have not clear evidence of the Word for deciding them. Were theſe directions obſerved, certainly they would conduce much to the preventing of *Breaches*, to the preſerving of *Peace.*

Take two or three more, each in a word.

2. Follow Holineſſe. Heb. 12. 14.

2. In the ſecond place, *Follow after Holineſſe.* The direct, and next way to peace. Therefore the Apoſtle puts them together. *Follow Peace with all men, and Holineſſe.* Certainly, did men ſtudie

die *Holineſſe* more, the *Theorie* and *Practiſe* of it, (as it would divert their thoughts from many fruitleſſe Controverſall ſpeculations, ſo) it would bee a means to cement and unite their hearts to all thoſe which truely feare God, ſo as every triviall difference ſhould not divide and ſever them.

Studie quietneſſe.

Thirdly, Following *Holineſſe*, *Studie alſo Quietneſſe*. So the Apoſtle exhorts his *Theſſalonians*, ſhewing them withall, how they ſhould find what they ſtudie for. *Studie to bee quiet* (ſaith hee) *and doe your own buſineſſe, and worke with your own hands*. Certainly were this regarded, did men and women love their own houſes, (and them beſt) medling with their owne buſineſſe, conſcionably, and diligently attending upon their owne callings, therein *Abiding with God*, (as the Apoſtle exhorts his *Corinthians*) it would bee a great, and ſoveraigne preſervative, to prevent many *Breaches*, many differences, which by the contrary are occaſioned.

1 Th. 4. 11.

1 Tim. 5. 13.

1 Cor. 7. 20. 24.

Beware of Miniſter-worſhip.

Fourthly, In the fourth place, *Take heed of Miniſter-worſhip*. Flying other *Idolatry*, beware of this. This it was that cauſed thoſe *breaches* in the Church of *Corinth*, they after a ſort made *Gods*, and *Chriſts* of their Miniſters, making them their *Heads*. Some were of *Paul*, others of *Apollos*, a third of *Cephas*, a fourth of *Chriſt*. As ever you deſire to maintain peace in the Church of God, take heed of this, of making *Miniſters*, in this ſenſe, your *Heads*. Know them to be as they are,

1 Cor. 1. 12.

1 Cor. 3. 5. the *servants*, and *ministers* of Christ. *Who is Paul, and who is Apollos, but Ministers by whom ye believed?* Being so, give unto them that honour and respect

1 Tim. 5. 17. which is due unto them; I, πιμὴν διπλῆν, that *Double Honour* to whom it belongeth, viz. to those which

Heb. 13. 17. are προϊστάμενοι, those which *labour in the Word and Doctrine*; hearkning to them, obeying them in and for Christ: But in the meane time take heede of making *Gods*, or *Idols* of any: which is done,

Ministers made Idols 4. wayes.

First, when wee shall so adhere and cleave to any, as that wee shall take all their words for *Gospell*, receiving them, and building upon them without farther discussion, or tryall.

Secondly, when we shall make their examples a *Rule* to walke by; a *Compasse* to steare by.

Thirdly, when wee will not receive the Word from any hand, from any mouth, but such as we affect, though having no just exception against others whereupon to decline their Ministerie, like some nice humorist that will drinke in no cup but his owne, though another may bee as cleane as that.

See M. Hildersham 66. Lect. upon Joh. 4. Fourthly, when we shall so farre *extoll*, and *admire* some, as that we *despise*, and *contemne* others, because (it may bee) inferiour to them in some parts, and gifts; so *Deifying* some, whilest wee *Vilify and Nullify* others. The disease of the times, of which take wee heede. And let not any here misconceive my words, or misconstrue my intensions, as if I spake this out of a base principle of

Envie

Envie to the deserved respects given to any in this place, or elsewhere, which I shall ever bee ready, and desirous to uphold, and maintaine: Not yet out of any sense of any want of respect to my selfe, which I must with thankfulnesse to God and his people acknowledge, I have no cause to complaine of, specially in this place: Onely I speake it out of a deepe apprehension of the great evill which at this dore is like to breake in upon the Church of God, where ever it is set open. And herein what I have said, let it bee taken as spoken as well against my selfe, as any other.

Fiftly, Let me adde one more, which I shall but name, though as usefull as any of the former: *Learne to distinguish betwixt a tender & a scrupulous conscience*: The former *precious*, the latter *noxious*, betraying the soule to causeleſſe, and groundleſſe feares, and doubts; making stumbling blocks where there are none, scrupling and questioning the truth or lawfulnesse of every thing, either without any ground, or upon very sleight grounds; without any warrant either from the Word, or else from sound and rectified reason. An Infirmitie very prejudiciall (as to private, so) to publicke peace, (as to the peace of a mans owne Conscience, so) to the peace of the Church. But I cannot dwell upon it.

Distinguish betwixt a Tender and Scrupulous Conscience.

These *Directions* being laid downe (some few of many) what remaines but that I should commend them to your practise and Gods blessing, upon which depends the successe of all our indeavours?

vours? All that wee can doe in this case is but to *minister* to you, as *Apothecaries* doe their patients. In the meane time the *Cure* is Gods: So it followeth in the third particular in this former part of the Text, which directs us to the great *Physician*, who is the *Healer* of these *Breaches*, even God himselfe (*O God Heale the Breaches thereof.*) But of this (God willing) hereafter.

Israels

Israels Physitian,

THE VI. SERMON.

APRIL. 17.

PSAL. 60. 2.

Heale the Breaches thereof, for it shaketh.

AS in the former of these wee tooke notice of three particulars: *Israels Disease, Cure, Physitian.* The two first whereof I have insisted upon. It remaines now that we come to the third and last, and so passe on to the second part of the Text, both which I shall passe over with as much brevitie as conveniently I may, having already dispatched that which I principally intended when I first tooke the Text in hand. *Israels Physitian*, To whom it is that *David* here repayres for this desired *Cure*, the *Healing*

Healing of the Breaches in this Kingdome, and that is, *God* himſelfe. So the firſt word in the Pſalme expreſſeth it: *O God—Heale the breaches thereof.*

D. God is the Healer of Iſraels Breaches.

Behold, *whom is that is the Healer of Iſraels Breaches, even God himſelfe, the great Phyſitian,* ἰατρὸς μέγας, he that healeth all diſeaſes. So *David* deſcribeth him, Pſ. 103. *Bleſſe the Lord O my Soule, who healeth all thy Diſeaſes,* all perſonall diſeaſes, & that whether of *Body*, or *Soule*. *Bodily* diſeaſes. *Goe tell Hezekiah* (ſaith the Lord to the Prophet) *Behold, I will heale thee. I am the Lord that healeth thee* (ſaith the Lord to the Iſraelites, ſpeaking of their Bodily diſeaſes.) *Soule* ſicneſſes; and that whether of *ſinne*, or *ſorrow*. Of *ſinne*. *Heale my ſoule, for I have ſinned againſt thee* (ſaith David.) Of *ſorrow*. *Hee healeth the broken in heart, and bindeth up their wounds*. Hee it is that healeth *perſonall* diſeaſes. And as perſonall, ſo *Domeſticall*, making up *Familie-breaches*, making man and wife to bee of one heart, reſtoring and repayring that peace and amitie betwixt them which at the firſt hee created and ordained. And as domeſticall, ſo *Politicall* and *Eccleſiaſticall* diſeaſes. Thoſe are the maladies which the Text leadeth us to; *Nationall* diſeaſes, Breaches in the *State*, in the *Church*. To both theſe God is the *Phyſician*, curing and healing both. *Politicall* breaches, reſtoring and ſetling peace in the *Commonwealth*. *Hee maketh warres to ceaſe to the end of the earth.* Pſal. 46. *Hee maketh Peace in thy borders.* Pſal. 147. As Politicall and Civill, ſo *Eccleſiaſticall* breaches, reſtoring the Church to former peace and happineſſe. *In that day ſhall the Lord binde up the breach*

Pſal. 103. 6.

1 King. 20. 5.

Exod. 15. 26.

Pſal. 41. 4.

Pſal. 147. 3.

Pſal. 46. 9. 147. 14.

breach of his people, and healeth the stroke of her wound. (saith the Prophet *Esay*, speaking of the restauration of the Church of the Iewes.) A promise seconded by the Prophet *Ieremie* speaking in the same language. *I will restore health vnto thee, and heale thee of thy wounds.* This Cure is Gods, the Restoring of the Church, and so the cementing and vniting of the hearts of his people together, making them one. *I will give them one heart, and one way,* (saith the Lord.) Behold the Churches *Physitian*, who it is that must heale the Breaches thereof, if ever they bee healed.

Isa. 30. 26.

Jer. 30. 17.

Jer. 32. 39.

And who but hee should doe it? Hee it is that *breaks*, that wounds, and who but he should heale? *I wound, and I heale them* (saith the Lord.) *Vna ademque manus.* The same hand kills, and cures. *Hee hath torne, & hee will heale vs*, (saith the Church) *Hee hath smitten, and hee will binde vs vp.* That which God *marreth*, man may sometimes *marre*; but that which God marreth, none but hee can mend. Hee it is that healeth *Israels breaches.*

R.
Hee wounds, and Healeth. Deut. 32. 39. 1 King. 5. 7. Hos. 6. 1.

For further Illustration I might shew you, how God effecteth this Cure. This hee doth ordinarily by *Instruments*, and means. How ever he can doe it immediately by his *word*, as in Cures of the Body. *He sent his word and healed them* (it is said of men in distresse.) *Speak the word onely, and my servant shall be healed*, (saith the Centurion to our Saviour.) yet ordinarily God maketh vse of *Instruments* and *Meanes*. Even as in the Cure of the Body hee maketh vse of Physitians, and Medicines,

This Cure is his though effected by Instruments and means.

Psal. 107. 20. Mat. 8. 8.

Medicines, so in the healing of a Church, a State, he maketh use of *Church-Physitians*, *State-Physitians*, making use of the Ministerie of man. Yet still so, as that the maine work is his, and the Cure his: Even as the Cure is the Physitians, though the meanes be applied by his Apothecary. But I will not dwell upon the Doctrinall part of this point, being desirous to finish it and the Text at the present.

The *Vse* I shall make of it, shall be only two-fold. Is God the Healer of Israels *Breaches?* here is *Comfort*, and here is *Counsell*.

Vse I. Despaire not of a Cure for this and the neighbour Kingdome.

1. *Comfort*. Is God our Physitian? why then let not us *despair of a Cure*, of the healing of the Breaches amongst us. These breaches, it must be acknowledged, are both many and great, the disease dangerous, yet not exceeding the skill of this great Physitian. If God undertake the Cure, we shall be cured. *Heal me O Lord, and I shall be healed*, (saith *Ieremy*.) It is not so with other *Physitians*: They may, and oft-times doe meet with diseases which are past their cure, diseases which being violent or inveterate scorne the force and vertue of all their drugs, though never so soveraign. And it may be so with a *State*, a *Church*, they may be past humane help, to man Incurable. Such was *Babylons* disease, desperate, and incurable; her *Physitians* could doe nothing to her for her *Cure*. *We would have healed Babylon*, (saith the Prophet) *but shee is not*, (*shee could not bee*) *Healed*, (as the Geneva reads it.) And it may be so sometimes with *Sion*, with *Ierusalem*. The Church of God may

Ier. 17. 14.

Ier. 51. 9.

may be in a forlorne and deſperate condition, her *wound* being (as *Ieremy* complaineth of his) *Incurable, refuſing to be healed.* So was it with *Ieruſalem* when *Ieremy* lamented over her *Breach* as being paſt mans Cure. *Thy Breach is great like the Sea, who can heale thee?* The Churches Breaches may be ſometimes like *Sea-breaches*, ſuch as the whole country cannot repaire and make good; ſo as her friends and lovers may ſtand, and mourn over her, as *Ieremy* there doth over *Ieruſalem*, and as the *Merchants of the earth* are ſaid to doe over *Babylon*, but in the mean time cannot help her, cannot heale her: Not unlike *Dorcas* her friends and neighbours, which *wept* over her corps, but could do nothing to the raiſing of her up again, til *Peter* came. Yet in this caſe deſpair not. *Vbi humana deficit, ibi incipit divinum auxilium.* When the wine was ſpent, then it was Chriſts time to work a miracle. *When my Father and Mother forſake me* (ſaith *David*) *then the Lord will take me up.* When *Phyſitians* leave a man, and give him over, then it is Gods time to take him in hand, which oft-times he doth, reſtoring & raiſing him with great facility and celerity, beyond his owne, and others expectation. *Turning man to deſtruction, he then ſaith, Come again ye Children of men.* And this he is able to doe for this, and the neighbour Nation, the *State*, the *Church* in both. What ever the condition of them is at the preſent bee, be it as forlorne and deſperate as our fears and jealouſies are readie to preſent it, ſuppoſe ſo our apprehenſions *ſeem reaſonable*, yet let not this diſcourage. If God under-

Ier.15.18.

Lam.2.13.

Rev.18.11.

Acts 9.39.

2 Joh.3.

Pſal.27.10.

Pſal.90.3.

take

take the Cure, he can and will effect it. It is the comfort which the Lord giveth unto *Ierusalem* against the desperatenesse of her disease, *Thus* Ier. 30.12,13. *saith the Lord, Thy bruise is incurable, and thy wound is grievous, there is none to plead thy cause that thou mayst be bound up, thou hast no healing medicines, &c.* Yet marke what follows v. 17. *I will restore health unto thee, I will heale thee of thy wounds,* (saith the Lord.) The desperatenesse of the disease maketh the Cure difficult to us, not to God; difficult for us to apprehend, not for God to effect. And therefore let not our *fears,* (how justly soever bottomed and grounded) devoure and eat up our *Hopes,* as those meager *kine* did the fat ones. Gen. 41.20. Our fears are from the *valleys,* our hopes are from Psal. 121.1. the *Hills. Mine eyes are to the Hills.* Our fears are from *Earth,* our hopes from *Heaven.* Our fears are Hos. 13.9. from *men,* our hopes are in *God. O Israel thou hast* Ps. 124. v. last. *destroyed thy selfe, but in me is thy help. Our help is in the name of the Lord;* And so is our *Health,* depending upon this *Physitian,* this great and chiefe *Physitian;* who is able to heale all our *Diseases.* Here is *Causa sine qua non.*

Vse 2. Only that he may be a Physitian, a *Healer* unto us, working this Cure for us, Let us *seek* it from him, *Returning* unto him, *Resting* upon him, and, if ever we be healed, *Give the Glory* to him. Here is *Causa efficiens* running as you see in 4. streames or channels. Passe over them severally, briefly.

I. Seek this Cure from God.

I. *Seek we unto God for this Cure.* So doe Patients to their Physitians, apprehending the disease dangerous, when fainting and pouting, neglecting after

after messengers never resting uncill the Physitian either come or send. Doe we the like unto this great Physician in all our diseases, For the healing of our bodies, if sick and weak, goe to him. So doth *David*. *I am weak, Lord heale me.* Not but that we may in this case have recourse to the Physitian also, as being the *Minister of God for our health.* But let not our addresses be onely unto him. That was *Asahs* sinne. *In his disease he sought not to the Lord, but unto the Physitians.* Nor yet in the first place unto him. Let God have the honour to hear of us, and from us in the first place, who is able to blesse our blast counsels and means. Psal.6.2. 2 Chro.16.12.

The like doe we for our *soules*. *Heale my soule* (saith *David*.) Not but that we may in this case also repayre to Gods *Ministers* being *Soule-Physitians*, or others who are able to advise, laying open our *sinnes*, and *sorrowes* unto them, seeking *Cure* from them; but goe to God in the first place. Psal.41.4.

And what we doe in our owne private, doe we the same in the publike case of the *State*, of the *Church* amongst us, for the healing of the *Breaches* in both, goe we with *David* unto this great *Physitian*, putting up our suit unto God in their behalf, *O God heale the Breaches thereof.* Not but that we may also have recourse unto men in this case, *viz.* to those whom God hath made *Healers* by office, *Rulers, Magistrates* in this our Israel, whether *supreame*, or *subordinate*, under whose hands these *Breaches*, these *Ruines*, at the present are for the *Cure* of them, that Sage and honourable *Counsell of State-Physitians* congregated, and Not, but that we may seek it from men.

assembled for this purpose. To them we may, we ought to have recourse, seeking this Cure at their hands, wherein my Petition shall ever be ready to goe and run with the first, the summe whereof shall be, *O ye Gods heale the Breaches in this our Israel*; and this do with what speed may be. *Sero medicina. Medicines come too late when diseases are growne inveterate.* It is the speech of the *Ruler* to our Saviour, pressing him to haste his Journey for the Cure of his Sonne. *Come down* (saith hee) *before my Sonne dye.* I forbear the Application, as not ignorant of the exemplary forwardnesse of those to whom I now speak, of whom I may say, as *Paul* once of the Christians of *Achaiah*, *They were ready a yeare agoe.* The good Lord shew them the way, and cleare it for them, taking away the ἐμπόδιον, what ever it is that *with-holdeth*, or keepeth back their Religious *Intentions* from an happy execution. This seek we from them, but so, as that we seek it from God, and from him in the first place.

Ioh. 4. 47.

2 Cor. 9. 2.

Pardon my Jealousie, if causelesse: My feares tell me there are some who have done the one, but never yet did the other; have signed Petitions, one, or more, to that *Honourable Assembly*, who never yet put up a serious Petition unto God in the Churches cause. And what is this, but with *Asah* to *seek to the Physitians, and not unto the Lord?* Know we, that if ever our *Breaches* be Cured, it is God must cure them. Men are but his *Instruments*, I, such instruments as can not move but as they are moved. *In him we move.*

Acts 17. 28.

Like *Cisternes* and *Conduit pipes*, which can containe, & convey no more water then what is put into the. And therefore have we recourse to the fountaine, to their God and our God, and that in the first place, seeking this mercy at his hands, *Pleading* with him for his Church. It is the Lords complaint over Israel, *There is none to plead thy cause that thou maist be bound up.* Blessed be God, it cannot be so said of this Church of ours, that she hath *none to plead her cause, Advocates*, and *Orators* she hath many, continually lying at the throne of Grace, pleading her cause with God, that through his goodnesse and mercy she may be *bound up*, that she may be *Healed*. Let every of us strive to be in this number, all suiters, and supplianrs unto this great *Physitian*, that he would make the *Church* amongst us his *Patient*, undertaking her *Cure*; to that end guiding and directing those whom we look at as the Instruments of our good, directing them to the choice and use of right meanes, and then commanding a blessing upon those meanes, making them effectuall to ends desired. Thus seek we unto God for this *Cure*. Jer. 30. 13.

2. Goe our selves unto God, Returning unto him.

And that wee may finde what wee seeke for, (in the second place) *Returne wee unto him*; not thinking it enough in this case to *send*, but *goe*; So did *Naaman* the *Leaper* unto the Prophet; for the Cure of his Leprosie, hee cometh in person. Doe wee the like in this case, thinke it not enough to send our *Prayers*, and *Teares* as messengers to heaven, but goe our selves, *returning* unto that God from whom wee desire this Cure. As is said of 2 Kings 5. 9.

Is. 19. 22. *compare* 19. *If. They shall returne even unto the Lord, and hee shall be intreated of them, and shall heale them.* God will never bee intreated of a people to *Heale* them, unlesse they *returne* unto him. And therefore let this bee the generall, universall *designe* of all, even a *Nationall Conversion*, that from the highest to the lowest we may all of us *turne, returne* unto the Lord our God from whom wee have gone astray. This is the next way to *healing*. *Come* (saith the Church) *Let us returne unto the Lord, Hee hath torne, and hee will heale us, hee hath smitten, & hee will binde us up.* This doe wee, and stirre wee up one another to doo it, as the Prophet there brings in the Church, as speaking one to another, *Come, &c.* Without this no *healing* to bee expected, at least not a perfect *Cure*. And therefore set wee upon this way. That God may returne, let us returne. This is the Counsell the Lord giveth his people in that knowne place, 2 Ioel. *Thus saith the Lord, Turne yee unto me, &c. Rent your hearts, and turne unto the Lord, who knoweth if hee will returne, and repent, and leave a Blessing behind him.* Some grounds of Hope yet there are, that God hath a *blessing* in store for this Nation. O, that hee may *returne* unto us (who at the present seems to threaten a departure from us) and leave this blessing behind him, *returne* wee unto him, turning away from those evill wayes whereby wee have provoked him. It is one condition in that promise which God maketh unto his people, *If they shall turne from their wicked wayes, I will heale their land*, and *Turning* unto him by renewing and

Hos. 6. 1.

Joel, 2. 12, 13, 14.

2 Chro. 7. 14.

keeping

keeping our *Covenant* with him of a closer walking with and before him: Indeavouring (as much as in us lyeth) for the time to come to make amends, (as for other *errors*, so) for *hardnesse*, and *unfruitfulnesse* under the means of grace: Surely amongst other this is none of the least provocations which hath drawne downe this wrath upon us; Even our abuse of the *Gospell* so long a time enjoyed, our abuse of the ordinances of God, his Word, his Sacraments, for which (as ever wee desire to bee Healed) let us indeavour to make amends for the future. It was the Counsell which the Priests of *Dagon* gave to the *Philistines*, when they were smitten with divers plagues, and judgments, and that (as they righly apprehended) for the wrong, and injurie done unto the *Arke* of God; that they should *send backe the Arke*, and that not *emptie*, but send a *Trespasse-offering*, a Present with it, thereby, as it were, to make amends for former indignities, and so doing (say they) *Ye shall be healed*. Surely (beloved) shall wee enquire after the cause of all the Evills which either lie upon us, or threaten us at this day, wee shall finde this as one of the principall, the *Indignities offered to the Arke of God*, the *worship* and *Religion* of God, the *Ordinances* of God, the *Captivating*, and as it were imprisoning of them, with the *Abuses* offered to them, that the *Word* hath not had such free passage in the mouthes of Gods Ministers, in the hearts of his people, as it should have had, that the Truth of God hath been detained, *quasi in iniquitate detenta*, not finding fruits worthy of

1 Sam. 6. 3.

of it, answerable unto it; That some have gone about to set up Gods *Arke* and their *Dagon* together; That others have polluted the *Ordinances* of God, handling them (as the *Philistines* did the *Ark*) with *common, uncircumcised*, hands. Certainly, had wee no other sins, these were inough to kindle all that wrath which is either broke forth upon us, or else smoaking against us. Now therefore, that we may be *healed*, Let us make a returne of the *Arke* of God, indeavouring to restore the worship and Religion of God, to Primitive *Libertie, Puritie, Power*; And let us returne it with a *Trespasse-offering*, a *Present*; And what shall this Present bee? Why, even that which the Apostle calleth for from his *Romans*, That *Sacrificium vivum*, that *Living Sacrifice, holy and acceptable unto God*; even *Our selves*, our *Bodies*, our *Soules*; Present, and give up both unto God, binding our selves by solemne vow and Covenant, to a closer walking with and before him, so to walke as *Becometh the Gospell*, bringing forth those *fruits of Holinesse and Righteousnesse, which may bee by Jesus Christ to the praysе and Glory of God*. Thus *Returne* we unto him who is the *God of our health*.

Rom. 12. 1. 2.

Phil. 1. 27.

Vers. 11.

3. Rest upon him for this Cure. Is. 30. 15.

And Returning to him (in the third place) let us also *Rest upon him. In Returning, and Resting shall yee bee saved*, (saith the Lord to his people.) Returning to God, Rest wee upon him, and him alone. In vaine to Rest elsewhere. *In vaine is the helpe of man* (saith the Psalmist. Vers. 11. of this Psalme.) So *David* apprehended it in the case of his Kingdome. So desperate were the Breaches therein,

Psal. 60. 11.

therein, that they were past his Cure. *Dauid* a wise, and a gracious Prince, one that wished as well to *Israel*, as ever did King to his Kingdome; and no question hee wanted not a wise and faithfull *Counsell*, which were both able, and willing to advise him for the best; yet so desperate was the condition of that Kingdome, that it was past all their skill to know how to heale it; *In vaine was the helpe of man*. And therefore hee betakes himselfe unto God, looking up unto him, and resting upon him. It is not our *King*, or his *Great Councell*, (I speake it with a reverent boldnesse) though the one *Gracious*, and the other *many & wise*, that can heale the *breaches* in this our *Israel*. All that they can doe is to wish well to the *Case*, and put forth their hands to *worke*; In the meane time it is God that must worke the *Cure*. As it is said of that strange Cure of the *Kings-Evill*; *Tangit te Rex, Sanat te Deus*, *The King may touch*, *but it is God must Cure*. And therefore though wee seeke and sue to them, and looke at them as *Instruments* whose hands God maketh use of, yet let us not rest upon them, being but an *Arme of flesh*. *Jer. 17. 5.* *To rest upon the Arme of flesh is the next way to breake it.* I will not say that this hath beene the means to breake this *Arme of flesh* heretofore; But this (I suppose) I may say, that our overmuch looking at, leaning and resting upon *Parliaments*, hath been neither advantageous to us, nor them. *Dauid* will make use of his *Bow*, but hee will not trust in it. *I will not trust in my bow*. No, though a *bow of steele*, the

Not upon Instruments, being but an Arme of flesh subject to bee broken.

Psal. 44. 6. Psal. 18. 34. Job 20. 24.

the strongest metall, and best for that purpose. Such is the *bow*, (wee must acknowledge) which is in the present *ready bent* for our good; An *excellent bow*, promising much, yet *trust* wee not in it, In beeing a *bow subject to bee broken*. So was *Davids bow*, though of *steele*, yet hee could *breake* it. *A bow of steele is broken by mine armes*. And such is this *bow*, a *bow* which, being in the hands of God, he can breake at pleasure. *Hee breaketh the bow*. What herein hee hath so frequently done before our eyes, shewes sufficiently what he can doe. It matters not what any may thinke of it now, that this *bow* is better *strung* then formerly; yet still is it subject to bee broken. Who is there but seeth some *flawes* in it already? Those unhappy *Misunderstandings* betwixt the *Royall Head*, and *Loyall Members* of that *Representative Body*, (which what eye seeth, and mourneth not over, what eare heares of and tingleth not at?) make the best and boldest of them, they are *flawes*, and these *flawes* ill *Presages*, shewing that this *bow* is subject to bee *broken*. It is one of the threatnings which the Lord menaceth *Israel* with, *Amos* 6. *Behold, the Lord commandeth* (saith the Prophet) *and hee will smite the Great House with breaches, and the little* (or lesser) *House with Clefts*. The *Great House*, and the lesser *House*, what meanes the Prophet hereby? M. Calvin, and some others, by the former of these understand their *Nobles*, by the latter their *Commons*, both which the Lord there threatens to divide, & breake. This God can doe by these two *Houses* in any

Psal. 18. 34.

Psal. 46. 9.

Amos 6. 11.

Piscator, & Gregorius, sed Plenius Calvin. Gualt.

any Kingdome, in this Kingdome, though never so well anchord, and bound together by never so many tyes, and bonds, *Naturall*, *Civill*, *Politicke*, *Religious*, yet if hee give the word, at his command they shall bee *smitten* with *breaches*, with *Clefts*, divided, rent, broken. This they are subject to. And therefore learne wee to looke higher; looking at them, not to *trust* in them. Nor yet in any other *secondary cause* or meanes what ever. This was the sinne of the Jewes charged upon them by the Prophet *Isay*; *when they saw the breaches of the citie* (of *Jerusalem*) *that they were many*, they used means to repayre them, *Pulling downe their houses to fortifie the wall* (as you have it Vers. 10.) But marke what follows (Vers. 11.) *yee have not looked unto the maker thereof, neither had respect unto him that fashioned it long ago.* They trusted more in their owne fortifications, carnall meanes of safety, then in God himselfe. A vaine thing so to doe. It is not the *Arme of flesh* in these cases that can *helpe* or *heale*. It is that which the Lord telleth *Ephraim* or *Israel*, 5. *Hos. When Ephraim saw his wickednesse, and Judah his wound, Then went Ephraim to the Assyrian, and sent to King Jareb, yet could hee not heale you, nor cure you of your wound.* And why? *I will bee unto Ephraim as a Lyon* (saith the Lord) *and as a young Lion to the house of Judah, and I will teare and goe away.* If God, being provoked against a Nation, shall give it over unto confusion, being unto it as a *Lion*, and as a *young Lion* rending, and tearing, it will be in vaine to tend a-

Isa. 22. 9, 10, 11.

Hos. 5. 13.

Ver. 14.

broad

broad for *Cure*. In this Case wee may say of all *helpers* and *healers*, as *Iob* doth of his friends, *They are Physitians of no value*, nor able to doe us any good. And therefore let it be our care first to *seeke* unto God, *Returning* unto him, thereby seeking to pacifie, and appease his wrath. *Tranquillus Deus tranquillat omnia.* Make peace in heaven, there will be peace upon earth. Then give this honour unto him, *Rest* upon him, and him alone for the effecting of this great Cure, and that in his owne *Way* and *Time*. Take heed of prescribing unto God in either of these. *Hee that beleeveth shall not make haste.* Bee we content to tarry Gods leisure, and then

Iob 13. 4.

Esay 28. 16.

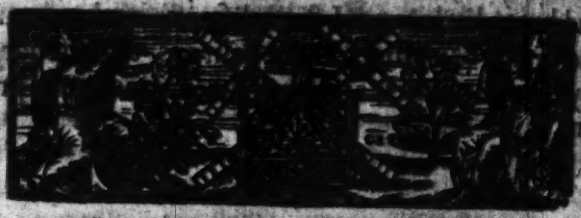
Give God the Glory of the Cure, if ever effected.

In the Fourth and last place: If God shall ever be pleased to work this great *Cure* for us, forget not to *Give him the Glorie of it*, and him alone. If we may not *trust* to our *Bow*, neither may we *sacrifice* to it. If the Physitian by his skill worke a Cure upon his patient, the honour is his, not his Apothecaries who ministers what he prescribes. All the instruments of our good, they are but as *Instruments*, which must be strung, and tuned, and touched before they will make any Musick. So take, and so acknowledge them, giving unto them what honour and thanks is their due, but in the meane time reserve unto God what is his peculiar, the *praise* and *Glory*. And thus I have at length done with the former part of the Text, (*Davids Request*).

It remains now that I come to the latter (*Da-*

broad

vids Reason.) Let me borrow of you a little time, and but a little, and I shall dismisse both you and the Text, of which I am desirous to discharge my own thoughts, and your attentions at the present.



Iſraels Danger.

It ſhaketh.

AN Argumẽt or *Reaſon* (as I told you) taken up by the *Pſalmiſt* to preſſe his requeſt, taken (as you have heard) from the *eminency of the Danger* wherein that his Kingdome then was. *It ſhaketh*, or *it is ſhaken*. A metaphoricall expreſſion borrowed from an *Earthquake*, (as I have already explained it) where the Earth being big, and in travell, as it were, with ſome windy vapour, which it ſtrives to bring forth, and to be delivered of, it *trembles*, and *ſhakes*. So wavering and unſetled was *Iſraels* condition at that time, by reaſon of thoſe *forraine Invaſions*, and *homebred Diviſions*, and *Diſtractions*, that the very foundations of it ſeemed to ſhake, threatning *Ruine*, and *Deſtruction*.

D. Iſrael ſubject to ſhakings.

Such may the ſtate of the Church of God upon earth ſome-

sometimes be, wavering, tottering, shaken. Even as we read of Mount *Sinai* at the giving of the Law; though it stood fast in respect of the foundations of it, yet it was *shak'n, it quaked.* The Church of God, in respect of the *foundation*, is standeth sure, being built upon a *Rock*, so as the *Gates of Hell*, all the *Power*, and *Policie* of *Satan*, and his Instruments shall never be able to prevaile against it; yet may it be *shaken.* So was the *Ark* of God at the threshing floore of *Nachon* or *Chidon*, though it fell not, yet it was *shaken.* So may the Church of God, and Religion of God be, though they shall never be quite overthrowne, yet they are subject to *shakings.* So is the Church.

Exod. 19. 18.

Mat. 16. 18.

2 Sam. 6. 8.
1 Chron. 13. 9.

And that through these *Breaches*, which are both from *Without*, and from *Within*: (as I have already shewn you in the case of Breaches.)

From *without*, by *Persecution*, and *Opposition* from Enemies abroad. From *within*, by and through homebred *Divisions* and *Distractions*, which like a windy vapour inclosed in the bowels of the earth cause shaking and trembling. This it was that made Israel shake, her intestine, and civill Combustions. Nothing more dangerous to a *State*, a *Church*, more ominous, and pernicious then these, *Intestine Breaches.* Such *Breaches* are *shakings*, dangerous presages, in their own nature *Destructive*, presaging downfall, and Ruine, unlesse they be *Healed.* Both these wayes is the Church subject to *shakings.*

Breaches are shakings.

And that (as I have said heretofore) partly through *Satans* malice, who hereby intends the

Ruine

The Church subject to shakings through Satans malice. Iob 1.19.

Ruine and downfall of the Church. Thence is it that he raiseth, and bringeth stormes, and tempests in, and upon it: Even as he did that *Tempest* which he brought from the wildernesse, which *smote the foure corners of the house* wherein *Iobs* children were banqueting, so as it fell, burying them in the ruines of it.

2. Through Gods Providence, hereby

Partly through *Gods effectuall Permission*, and *Ordination*; who sometimes shakes his Church as he did Mount *Sinai*. Thereby intending,

1. Sometimes manifesting his displeasure. Mat. 27.51.

First, Sometimes to manifest his *Displeasure* against a *People*, a *Nation*. Thus at the Death of our Saviour the Earth *shook* and trembled as a token of Gods indignation against the *Jewes* for that horrid Act of theirs in *Crucifying the Lord of Life*. Like construction *David* maketh of this *Earthquake*, these *shakings* here in the text, he took them as tokens and evidences of Gods wrath and displeasure, *O God, thou hast been displeased.*

2. Purging his Church.

Secondly, Sometimes God shakes his Church to *Purge it*, as the Husbandman shakes his Corne to and fro in the fan to cleanse out the Chaffe and Drosse.

3. Humbling his people, and so preparing the for some speciall mercy.

Thirdly, Sometimes God doth it to *Humble* his people, and so to fit and prepare them for some speciall mercy. Thus when God descended upon Mount *Sinai* he *shook the Earth*, both the *Place*, and the *People*, putting both into a trembling fit, thereby fitting and preparing the people for the receiving of that holy *Law* of his. Thus when God intends to come downe upon his Church in a way of speciall grace and favour, he oft-times prepares

it

it by these *shakings*: Even as the *Whirlwinde*, and *Earthquake* at *Mount Horeb*, made way for the *still voyce*, wherein God was. Seldome it is that God worketh any great *Changes* in his Church without these *shakings* going before. But I must not dwell upon it. The use I shall make of it shall be only a double exhortation. 1 King. 19. 11, 12.

1. That we would lay to heart the present state and condition both of this, and the neighbour Kingdome, which by reason of the *Breaches* made in them and upon them are shaken. So was *Israel*, and so are they. Be we affected herewith. So we would be with an *Earthquake*. Did we feele the Earthquake and tremble under us, who but would tremble with it? This doth the State, the Church in these Kingdomes at the present. Let every of us be deeply affected with these *shakings*, so laying them to Heart, that, *Vse.* Be we affected with the shaking of our Israel.

In the second place, we may be excited and stirred up every of us to do that office & duty to, & for the Church of God amongst us, that *David* doth here for *Israel*, viz. to *seek the Healing of the Breaches thereof*. These *Breaches* (how slight soever any may make of them) they are *shakings*, presages of *Ruine* and *Downfall*, unlesse they be healed. And therefore let both our *Hearts* work, & *Hands* work towards the *Healing* of these Breaches. This it was that made *Uzzah* so forward in putting forth his hand to touch the Ark, he saw that it was *shaken*, and he knew not what the danger might be. Stupid is that Heart which apprehends the *Ark* of God shaken, and shall not be ready to put forth an Seek the healing of her Breaches. 2 Sam. 6.

Every one in his Place.

hand to the ſtaying of it. This let every of us doe. Only taking heed of that *Errour* into which he through a ſuddain unadviſedneſſe fell; obſerving the ſeverall places and ſtations wherein God hath ſet us, do we what appertaineth to the. *Publike* perſons in their places, and *Private* perſons in their places. Thoſe which may not touch the *Ark* it ſelfe, let them lay hand upon the *Cart*, which if *Uzzah* had done, and no more, that act of his (I ſuppoſe) had been not onely warrantable, but acceptable. This caution being obſerved, then let it be the holy ambition of every of us to be found of God, and man in the number of thoſe, which

Eſay. 58. 12. *ſhall be called* (not the *makers* or *Maintainers*, but) *the Repairers of Breaches, and the Reſtorers of Paths to dwell in*; Even of thoſe ancient, and truly Chriſtian *pathes* (which I wiſh were more beaten and trodden then they are) of Religious *Peace* and *Love*, which if they be wanting, the Church (how well ſo ever accommodated, and furniſhed with all other neceſſaries, and conveniences, yet) will ſcarcely be found habitable. For the furthering of you in this bleſſed work, I ſhall ſay no more unto you, then what the Apoſtle doth to his *Philippi-*

Phil. 4. 9. *ans*, Phil. 4. 9. with whoſe words I ſhall diſmiſſe both you and the Text: *Thoſe things which ye have both learned, and received, and heard from me*, (I goe no further) *Doe, and the God of Peace ſhall be with you. Amen.*

FINIS.

T

ERRATA.

page	line	read
2	13	ſad ſtory
3	2	before the text
11	15	was a ſufferer:
12	5	a ſharp contention,
29	1	to doe a Cure
32	4	*Enemies* without *triumph*,
	5	*Neuters* without *ſcandall*.
38	6	gariſh
39	19	who have not done
40	29	*Pilat*
54	9	theſe *Breaches*,
68	19	Why, but what
72	29	our ſelves
74	3	they be light matter
		marg. inedia non
81	25	*rent* the kingdome
85	26	in that his
86	21	over *ſlaves*,
93	27	fallen upon,
121	13	or blaſt.

ERRATA.

The Fore-Runner OF REVENGE,

Being two Petitions:

THE ONE

To the KINGS most Excellent Majesty;

THE OTHER

To the most Honourables Houses of Parliament.

Wherein is expressed divers actions of the late Earle of *Buckingham*; especially concerning the death of King *James*, and the Marquesse *Hamilton*, supposed by Poyson.

Also may be observed the inconveniences befalling a State where the Noble disposition of the Prince is mis-led by a Favourite.

By *George Eglisham* Doctor of Physick, and one of the Physitians to King *James* of happy memory, for his Majesties person above ten yeares space.

Printed at *London*, in the yeare, 1646.

To the moſt Potent Monarch, CHARLES KING of Great BRITAINE.

The humble Petition of George Egliſham, *Doctor of Phyſicke, lately one of King* JAMES *his Phyſitians for his Majeſties perſon above the ſpace of ten yeares.*

SIR,

NO better motive there is for a ſafe government, then the daily meditation of death, (equalling Kings with Beggars) and the exact juſtice of God requiring them, that the good ſuffering miſery of this life, ſhould receive joy in the other, and the wicked flouriſhing ſecurely in this, might be puniſhed in the other. That which pleaſeth laſteth but a moment; which tormenteth, is everlaſting. Many things we ſee unrewarded or unpuniſhed in this inferiour world, which in the univerſall weight of Gods juſtice, muſt be counterpoiſed elſewhere. But wilfull and ſecret murther hath ſeldome beene obſerved to eſcape undiſcovered or unpuniſhed even in this life, ſuch a particular and notable revenge perpetually followeth it, to the end that they who are either Atheiſts or Machiavelists, may not truſt too much to their wits in doing ſo horrible injuſtice; would to God your Majeſty would well conſider what I have often ſaid to my Maſter King *James*, the greateſt policy is honeſty; and howſoever any man ſeeme to himſelfe wiſe in compaſſing his deſires by tricks, yet in the end he will prove a foole: for falſhood ever deceiveth her owne maſter at length, as the devill (author of all falſhood) always doth, leaving his adherents deſolate when they have the greateſt need of his help; No falſhood without injuſtice, no injuſtice without falſhood, albeit it were in the perſon of a King.

There is no Judge in the world more tied to doe juſtice then a King, whoſe Coronation tyeth him unto it by ſolemne oath, which if hee violate, hee is falſe and perjured.

It is juſtice that maketh Kings, juſtice that maintaines Kings, and injuſtice that brings Kings and Kingdomes to deſtruction, to fall into miſery, to die like Aſſes in ditches, or a more beaſtly death, eternall infamy after death, as all hiſtories from time to time do clearely manifeſt.

What need hath mankinde of Kings but for juſtice? Men are not borne for them, but they for men: what greater, what more royall occaſion in the world could bee offered to your Majeſty to ſhew your impartiall diſpoſition in matters of juſtice at the firſt entry of your raigne, then this which I offer in my juſt complaint againſt *Buckingham*, by whom your Majeſty ſuffereth your ſelfe ſo farre to be led, that your

ſelf ſubiects are in doubt whether he is your King, or you his. If your Maieſtie know and conſider how he hath tyrannized over his Lord and Maſter King *James*, (the worldly creator of his fortunes) how inſolent, how ingrate an oppreſſor, what a murderer and traytor hee hath proved himſelfe towards him, how trecherous to his vpholding friends, the Marqueſſe of *Hamelton*, and others, your Maieſty may thinke (giving way to the Lawes demanded againſt him) to yeeld a moſt glorious field for your Maieſty to walke in, and diſplay the banners of your royall vertues.

Your Maieſty may perhaps demand, what intereſt I have therein, what have I to doe therewith, that I ſhould ſtir, all others being quiet? Sir, the quietneſſe or ſtirring of others, expecteth onely a beginning from me, whom they know ſo much obliged to ſtir, as none can be more, both in reſpect of knowledge of paſſages, and in regard of humane obligation, and of my independency from the accuſed, or any other that his power or credit can reach unto, many know not what I know therein, others are little or nothing beholding to the dead; other albeit they know it as well as I, and are obliged as deep as I, yet dare not complain ſo ſafely as I, being out of their reach, who are inſeparable from him by his inchantments, and all to obſcure my ſelfe, untill the power of iuſt revenge upon him be obtained from God.

What I know ſufficient againſt him, I have ſet downe in my petition againſt him to the Parliament; to whom if your Maieſty diſmiſſe him, ſequeſtred from your Maieſty chiefly in an accuſation of treaſon, you ſhall doe what is iuſt, & deliver your ſelf and your Kingdome from the captivitie in which he holdeth them, and your Maieſty oppreſſed. How eaſily I may eclipſe my ſelfe from his power to do me harm, unleſſe he hath legions of infernall ſpirits at his command to purſue me, your Maieſty may well know, I being *ultra mare* to theſe dominions where he ruleth and rageth.

How far I am obliged to complain more than others, I will in few words expreſſe, that neither your Maieſty nor any man may thinke otherwiſe, but that I have moſt iuſt reaſon not to be ſilent in a wrong ſo intollerable, the intereſt of blood which I have to any of them, of whoſe death I complain either by the loſſe of *Balgony Laird*, or *Silverton-Hill*, albeit it is eaſie to be made manifeſt and ſufficient to move me, yet it is not the ſole motive of my breach of ſilence, but the intereſt of received courteſie, and the heap of infallible tokens of true affections, is more then ſufficient to ſtir me thereto, unleſſe I would prove the moſt ingrate in the world, and ſenſeleſſe of the greateſt iniuries that can be done unto my ſelfe; for who killed K. *James*, and Marqueſſe *Hamelton*, in that part o the iniury which is done unto me therein, hee hath done as much as robbed me of my life, and all my fortunes and friends.

With ſuch conſtant and loving impreſſions of me as are neither to be recovered, nor duly valued: for his Maieſty from the third yeare of my age did practiſe honorable tokens of ſingular favour towards me, daily augmented them in word, in writ, in deed, accompanied them with gifts, patents, offices, recommendations both in private and publike, at home and abroad, graced ſo farre, that I could ſcarce aſke any thing, but I could have obtained it.

How much honour he hath done unto me there needs no witnesse unto your Majesty, who is sufficient for many; no lesse is my L. Marq. *Hamiltons* friendship established by mutuall obligation of most acceptable offices continued by our ancestors these three generations, ingraven in the tender mindes and yeeres of the Marquesse and me in the presence of our Soveraign K. *James*, For when the Marquesse his Father, who with the right hand on his head, and the left on mine, did offer us (young in yeares so joyned) to kisse his Majesties hand, recommending me to his Maisties favour, said, I take God to witnesse, that this young mans Father was the best friend that ever I had, or shall have in this world. Whereupon the young Lord resolved to put trust in me, and I fully to addict my selfe to him, to deserve of him as much commendations as my Father did of his Father.

This Royall celebration of our friends rooted it selfe so deep in my minde, that to my self I purposed this remembrance, giving it to my young Lord, and to my familiar friends, and set it upon the bookes of my study, *Semper Hamiltonius, &c.*

Always the King and Hamelton
Within thy breast conserve,
What ever be thy actions,
The Princes two deserve,

Neither was it in vaine, for both our loves increased with our age, the Marquesse promising to ingage his life and whole estate for me, if need were, and so share his fortunes with me; and not only promising, but also performing when ever there was occasion; yea, for my sake offering to hazzard his life in combate, whose minde in wishing me well, whose tongue in honouring of me, and whose hands and meanes in defending me (both absent and present, unto the last period of his life) hath ever assisted me.

I should be more tedious then were fit, if I should rehearse every particular favour so manifestly known to the whole Court, and to the friends of us both, who then can justly blame me, demanding justice as well for the slaughter of the Marquesse, of *Hamelton*, as of my most gracious Soveraign K. *James*, seeing I know whom to accuse; My profession of Physick, nor my education to Letters, cannot serve to hinder me from undertaking the hardest enterprise that ever any Romane undertook, so far as the Law of conscience will give way.

Why should I stay at the decay
Of Hamiltons *the hope,*
Why shall I see thy foe so free,
Unto this joy give scope?
Rather I pray a dolefull day
Be mine in cruell sute:
Then thy death strange Without revenge,
Or him in safe estate.

This ſoule to heavens hand to the dead I vow,
No fraudfull minde, no trembling hand I have:
If pen it ſhun, the ſword revenge ſhall follow.
Soule, Pen, and Sword, what thing but juſt doe crave,

What affection I bore to the living, the ſame ſhall accompany the dead: for when one (whoſe truth and ſincerity was well knowne unto me) told me that it was better that the chiefeſt of my friends, the Marqueſſe of Hamelton, to be quiet at home in Scotland, then eminent in Court of England; to whom by the opinion of the wiſer ſort, his being at Court will coſt him no leſſe then his life, ſith that I ſtretching forth mine arme (apprehending ſome plots laid againſt him) anſwered, if no man dare to revenge his death, I now vow to God this hand of mine ſhall revenge it, ſcarcely any other cauſe to bee found, then the bond of our cloſe friendſhip, why in the ſcrowle of Noble mens names who were to be killed, I ſhould be ſet downe next the Marqueſſe of Hamelton, and under thoſe words, viz. (*the Marqueſſe and Doctor Eglisham to embalme him*) to wit, that no diſcoverer or revenger ſhould be left, this roll of names, I know not by what deſtiny, was found neare to Weſtminſter, about the time of the Duke of Richmond his death, and brought to the Lord Marqueſſe by his cozen the daughter of the Lord Oldbarre, one of the privy Counſell of Scotland, did cauſe no terrour in me untill I did ſee the Marqueſſe poyſoned, and remembred that the reſt therein noted, were dead, and my ſelfe next pointed at only ſurviving, why ſtay I any more, the cauſe requireth no more the pen but the ſword?

I doe not write ſo boldly, becauſe I am amongſt the Dukes enemies, but I have retired my ſelfe to his enemies becauſe I was reſolved to write and doe earneſtly againſt him, as may very well appeare: for ſince the Marqueſſe of Hamiltons death, the moſt noble Marqueſſe *de Fiatta*, Embaſſador for the moſt Chriſtian King of France, and alſo Buckingham his mother ſent on every ſide to ſeeke me, inviting me to them; but I did forſake them, knowing certainly the falſhood of Buckingham would ſuffer the Embaſſador rather to receive an affront then to be unſatisfied of his blood, thirſty deſire of my blood, to ſilence me with death (for according to the proverbe, *The dead cannot bite*) if he could have found me: for my Lord Duke of *Lenox*, who was often croſſed by *Buckingham*, with his brother, and the Earle of Southampton now dead, was one of the roll found of thoſe that were to be murthered, well aſſure me that where *Buckingham* once miſliked, no apologie, no ſubmiſſion, no reconciliation could keepe him from doing miſchiefe.

Neither do I write this in this faſhion ſo freely for any entertainement here preſent which I have not, nor for any future which I have no ground to looke for, ſeeing *Buckingham* hath ſo much miſled your Ma. that he hath cauſe not onely here, but alſo in all nations, all Britain Natives to be diſgraced and miſtruſted, your Ma. moſt royall word, which ſhould be inviolable, your hand and ſeal which ſhould be infringable, to be moſt ſhamefully violated and your ſelfe to be moſt ingrate for

your kinde usage in Spain, which *Buckingham* maketh to be requited with injuries in a most base manner; under protestation of friendship, a bloody war being kindled on both sides, whereby he hath buryed with K. *James*, the glorious name of *Peace-making-King*, who had done much more justly and advisedly if he had procured peace unto Christendome, whereby small hope I have of obtaining justice on my most just complaint, unto which my deare affection unto my deare friends murthered and extreame detestation of *Buckingham* his violent proceedings hath brought me. Your Majesty may finde most just causes to accuse him in my Petition to the Parliament, which shall serve for a touch-stone to your Majesty, and a whetstone to me, and many other Scotchmen; and which if it be neglected, will make your Majesty to incur a censure amongst all vertuous men in the world, that your Majesty will be loath to heare of, and I am astonished to expresse at this time,

A Serpent lurketh in the grasse.

No other way there is to be found to save your honour, but to give way to justice against that traytor *Buckingham*, by whom manifest danger approcheth to your Majesty, no otherwise then death approcheth to King *James*.

If your Majesty will therefore take any course therein, the examination upon oath of all those that were about the King, and the Marquesse of *Hamelton* in their sickenesse, or at their deaths, or after their deaths, before indifferent Judges (no dependants on *Buckingham*) will serve for sufficient proofe of *Buckingham* his guiltinesse, In the meane time, untill I see what will be the issue of my complaint, without any more speech, I rest,

Your Majesties daily Suppliant,
George Eglisham.

To the most Honourable the Nobility, Knights and Burgesses of the Parliament of ENGLAND.

The humble Petition of George Eglisham *Doctor of Physicke, and one of the Physitians to K.* James *of happy memory, for his Majesties person above the space of ten yeares.*

WHereas the chiefe humane care of Kings, and Courts of Parliament, is, the preservation and protection of the subiects lives, liberties and estates, from Private and Publike injuries, to the end that all things may be carried in the equall ballance of justice, without which no monarchy, no Common wealth, no society, no family, yea no mans life or estate can consist albeit never so little: It cannot bee thought unjust to demand of Kings and parliaments the censure of wrongs, the consideration whereof was so great in our Monarch of happy memory King JAMES, that he hath often publikely Protested, even in the Presence of his apparant heire, that if his owne sonne should commit murther or any such execrable act of injury, he would not spare him, but would have him die for it, and would have him more severely Punished then any other: For he very well observed, no greater injustice, no injury more intollerable can be done by man to man, then murther. In all other

wrongs

wrongs fortune hath recourse, the losse of honour or goods may be repaired, satisfaction may be made, reconciliation may be procured, so long as the party injured is alive. But when the party murthered is bereft of his life, what can restore it? what satisfaction can be given him? where shall the murtherer meet with him to be reconciled to him, unlesse hee be sent out of this world to follow his spirit, which by his wickednesse he hath seperated from his body? Therefore of all injuries, of all the acts of iniustice, of all things most to be looked into, murther is the greatest: And of all murthers, the poysoning under trust and profession of friendship, is the most heynous, which if you suffer to goe unpunished, let no man thinke himselfe so secure to live amongst you, as amongst the wildest and most furious beasts in the world: for by vigilancy and industry, meanes may be had to resist or evict the most violent beast that ever nature bred, but from false and treacherous hearts, from poysoning murthers, what wit or wisedome can defend?

This concerneth your Lordships every one in particular, as well as my selfe. They (of whose poysoning your Petitioner complayneth) viz. King JAMES, the Marquesse HAMELTON, and others whose names after shall be expressed, have beene the most eminent in the Kingdome, and sate on those Benches whereon your Honours doe now sit. The party whom your Petitioner accuseth, is the Duke of Buckingham, who is so powerfull, that unlesse the whole body of a Parliament lay hold on him, no iustice can be had of him: For what place is there of iustice, what office of the Crowne what degree of honour in the Kingdome, which he hath not sold? And sold in such craft, that he can shake the buyer out of them, and intrude others at his pleasure.

All the Judges of the Kingdome, all the Officers of State, are his bound vassels, or allies are afraid to become his out-casts, as it is notorious to all his Maiesties true and loving Subiects; yea, so far hath his ambitious practice gone, that what the King would have done, could not be done if he opposed it, whereof many instances may be given, whensoever they shall be required: Neither are they unknowne to this Honourable assembly, howsoever the meanes he useth be, whether lawfull or unlawfull, whether humane or diabolique, so he tortureth the Kingdome, that he procureth the calling, breaking or continuing of the Parliament at his pleasure, placing and displacing the officers of Iustice of the Councell of the Kings Court, of the Courts of iustice to his violent pleasure, and as his ambitious villany moveth him. What hope then can your Petitioner have, that his complaint should be heard; or being heard, should take effect? To obtain iustice, he may despaire; to provoke the Duke to send forth a poysoner or murtherer to dispatch him, and send him after his dead friends already murthered, he may be sure this to be the event. Let the event bee what it will, come whatsoever can come, the losse of his own life your Petitioner valueth not, having suffered the losse of the lives of such eminent friends, esteeming his life cannot be better bestowed, then upon discovery of so heynous murthers, yea, the iustnesse of the cause, the dearenesse and neareneſſe of his friends murthered, shall prevaile so far with him that he shall unfold unto your Honours, and unto the whole world, against the accused, and name him the author of so great murthers, *Georg*

Villers

Villers, Duke of *Buckingham*, which against any private man, are sufficient for his apprehension and torture. And to make his complaint not very tedious, he will only for the present, declare unto your Honours, the two eminent murthers committed by *Buckingham*, to wit, of the Kings Majestie, and of the Lord Marquesse *Hamelton*, which for all the subtilty of his poysoning Art, could not be so cunningly conveyed as the murtherer thought, but that God hath discovered manifestly the author. And to observe the order of the time of their death, because the Lord Marquesse of *Hamelton* dyed first, his death shall be first related, even from the root of his first quarrell with *Buckingham*, albeit many other jarres have proceeded from time to time betwixt them.

Concerning the poysoning of the Lord Marquesse HAMELTON.

BUCKINGHAM once raised from the bottome of Fortunes wheele to the top, by what right or wrong, no matter it is, (by his carriage the proverb is verified) *Nothing more proud then baseſt blood, when it doth riſe aloft*. He suffered his ambition to carry himselfe so far, as to aspire to match his blood with the Blood-Royall both of England and Scotland. And well knowing, that the Marquesse of *Hamelton* was acknowledged by K. *James* to be the prime man in his dominions, who next to his own line, in his proper season might claime an hereditary Title to his Crown of Scotland, by the daughter of K. *James* the second, and to the Crown of England by *Jane* of Sommerset, wife to King *James* the first, declared by an Act of Parliament Heretrix of England to be in her due ranke, neither suffered the King to be at rest, but urged him alwayes to send some of his Privie Counsell to solicite the Marquesse to match his eldest sonne with Buckinghams Neece, making great promises of conditions, which the meane family of the Bride could not performe, without the Kings liberality, to wit, fiftie thousand pound Sterling, valuing five hundred thousand Florens with the Earledome of Orkney, under the title of Duke, whatsoever the Marquesse would accept, even to the first Duke of Britaine.

The glorious Title of a Duke the Marquesse refused twice, upon speciall reasons reserved to himselfe.

The matter of mony was no motive to cause the Marquesse to match his son so unequall to his degree, seeing *Buckingham* himself, the chief of her kindred was but a novice in Nobility, his father obscure amongst Gentlemen, his mother a Serving woman: and he being infamous for his frequent consultation with the Ringleader of Witches principally that false Dr. *Lamb* publikely condemned for Witchcraft; whereby the Marquesse knowing that the King was so farr bewitched to *Buckingham*, that if he refused the match demanded, he should find the Kings deadly hatred against him; And seeing that *Buckinghams* Neece was not yet Nubile in yeares, and that before the marriage should be confirmed, a way might be found out to annull it, unto which he was forced by deceitfull importunity: therefore he yeelded unto the Kings desire of the match; whereupon *Buckingham* and his faction fearing that delayes would bring lets urged my Lo: Marquesse to send for his son upon a Sunday morning betimes in all haste from *London* to Court at *Greenwich*, where never a word was spoken of marriage to the young Lord, till a little before Supper, and the marriage made before the King after Supper. And to make it more Authenticke, *Buckingham* caused his Neece to be laid in bed with the Marquesse his son, for a short time in the Kings Chamber, and in his Majesties presence, albeit the Bride was innubile. Many were astonished at the sudden newes thereof; all the Marquesse his friends fretted thereat, and some writing unto him very scornfull Letters for the same.

The Marquesse having finished the Kings demands, did what he could to prevent the confirmation of the marriage, and intended to send his son beyond the seas to travell through France, and so to passe his time abroad untill that meanes were found to unty that knot which *Buckingham* had urged the King to tie upon his son.

In

But Buckingham to countermand the Marqueſſe his deſigne, cauſes the King and Prince to make the Marqueſſe his ſonne to be Sworne Gentleman of the Princes Bed Chamber, and ſo to bee detained with him within the Kingdome, until that the Bride was at yeares ripe for marriage.

The time expired that Buckinghams Neece became marriageable Buckingham ſent to the Marqueſſe to deſire him to make the marriage to be compleatly confirmed.

The Marqueſſe (not willing to heare of any ſuch matter) anſwered briefly, he ſcorned the motion.

This anſwer reported to Buckingham, and ſeeing himſelfe like to be fruſtrated of his ambitious matching of his Neece, and perceiving that the Lord Marqueſſe was able to raiſe a great faction againſt him, whether K. Iames did live or die, was mightily incenſed againſt the Marqueſſe: At the firſt encounter with him, did challenge him for ſpeaking diſdainfully of him and his Houſe.

The Marqueſſe replyed, he did not remember any offenſive words uttered by himſelfe againſt Buckingham. Buckingham then proudly ſaid unto him, Out of the words of thy mouth I will judge thee: for you have ſaid you ſcorn the motion of matching with my Houſe, which I made unto you. The Marqueſſe anſwered, that if he had ſaid ſo, it became not the Duke ſo ſpeake unto him in that faſhion. So Buckingham threatned to be revenged; The Marqueſſe uttered his defiance; and thus the quarrell began, which foure or five times was reiterated, and as often reconciled by the Marqueſſe of Hamilton. A little before the Marqueſſe of Hamelton fell ſick: wherein it is very evident, that the quarrell hath been very violent, that needed ſo many reconcilations. The Dukes fire of his anger, and fury being unextinguiſhable, as King Iames did often cenſure him in his abſence, albeit that a Favourite, that hee was wonderfull vindicative, whoſe malice was inſatiable towards my Lord Marqueſſe of Hamelton, did well ſhew it ſelfe, as ſhall appeare hereafter.

Hardly can any man tell whether by the Marqueſſe in his ſickneſſe Buckingham was more ſuſpected then accuſed of the poyſon given or to be given him: for he would not taſte of any thing that was ſent to him by any of Buckinghams friends: but he would have ſome of his ſervants taſte of it before: and for the love that was mutuall betweene him and your Petitioner (whom hee would never ſuffer to goe out of his ſight during his ſickneſſe) your Petitioner caſt off all that he tooke in that time, unto whom in ſuſpition of Buckingham he expreſſed by name before ſufficient witneſſe, who will teſtifie it upon oath, if there be any courſe taken therein for the ſearch thereof. All the time of his ſickneſſe he intreated your Petitioner not to ſuffer my Lord of Buckingham to come neere him, and your Petitioner having often ſent word, and alſo ſometimes ſignified himſelfe to Buckingham, that there was no fit oppertunity for the Marqueſſe, pretending ſome thing to be miniſtred to him. But when your Petitioner could finde no more excuſes, he told my Lord Marqueſſe that he had put away my Lord of Buckingham ſo often, that he couldnot keepe him away any longer, but that he muſt needs ſee him.

Then hee knowing Buckinghams viſitation to proceed of diſſimulation, requeſted your petitioner at laſt to finde the meanes to get him away quickly:

which your Petitioner did, interrupting Buckingham his discourse, and intreating him to perswade my Lord Marquesse to be quiet.

This did evidently shew my Lord Marquesse his disliking and distrusting of Buckingham, whereas he was well pleased with other Noblemens Company. All the time of his sickneſſe, the Duke and my Lord Denbigh would not suffer his owne sonne to come to him, pretending that he was also sicke; which was false for the time that my Lord Marquesse called for him. after this your Petitioner advised his Lordship to dispose of his estate, and of his conscience, his sickneſſe was not without danger, which your Petitioner foure dayes my Lords death, did in such manner perceive, that he had cause to dispaire of his health but intreated him to commit all the care of his health to God & his Physitians, assuring howsoever hee had gotten wrong abroad, he should get none in the cure of his disease.

At last his Lordship burst out in these words; to my Lord of Denbigh, it is a great cruelty in you, that you will not suffer my sonne to come to me when I am dying, that I may see him, and speake to him before I dye. So they delaying his comming with excuses, until my Lord his agony of death was neere; to the end that he should not have time to give his sonne private instructions touch the marriage of Buckinghames Neece, or to bequeath unto him his suspition of poyson: for they had rather his sonne should know any thing, when either of these; yet many did suspect his poyson before he died: for two dayes before his death, two of his servants died with manifest signs and suspition of poyson, the one belonging to the Wine-seller, the other to the Kitchin.

The Fatall houre being come, that my Lord Marquesse deceased, your Petitioner intreated all were present, to suffer no man to touch his body, untill that he returned to see it opened. For then he protested earnestly, that all the time of his sickneſſe, he judged him to be poysoned; but this poyson was such, and so far gone, that none could helpe it: Nevertheleſſe, for to the matter concealed, Buckingham would have him buried that same night at Westminster Church, and the Ceremonies of his burial to be kept afterwards, saying, that such delicate bodies as his could not be kept.

But his friends taking hold of the cayeat before given by your Petitioner, refused so to doe, and replyed, that they would have him, as became him, to be buried in Scotland in his owne Chappell, where all his Ancestors have been buried for more then these foure hundred yeares, and that his body must first be visited by his Physitians.

No sooner was he dead, when the force of the poyson had overcome the force of his body, but it began to swell in such sort, that his thighes were swolne sixe times as bigge as their naturall proportion, his belly became as bigg as the belly of an Oxe, his Armes as the naturall quantity of his Thighes, his Neck so broad as his Shoulders, his Cheekes over the top of his Nose, that his Nose could not be seen or distinguished. the skin of his fore-head, two fingers high swelled, the haire of his beard eye-browes and head, so farr distant one from another, as if an hundred had been taken out between each one; and when one did touch the haire it came away with the skin as easily, as if one had pulled hay out of an heape of hay. He was all over his neck, breast, shoulders,

armes,

armes, and browes, I fayd of divers colours, full of waters of the same colours some white some black, some red, some yellow, some greene, some blew, and that as well within his body as without.

Also the concavities of his liver greene, his stomack in some places a little purpurated with a blew clammy water, adhering to the sides of it, His mouth and nose foaming blood mixt with froath mightily, of divers colours a yards high. Your Petitioner being sent for to cut his body, and his Servants all flocking about him saying, see, see, presently weeping, said he was poysoned, and that it was a thing not to be suffered. Moreover, he said, that albeit his speech might cost him his life, yet seing his sorrow had extorted that speech out of him, he would make it manifest, and would have a Jury of Physitians. Presently some of the Marquesse of Hamiltons friends said, we must send to my L. Duke, that he may send his Physitians, but your Petitioner replyed, what have we to do with the D. Physitians? Let us have indifferent men, Captain Hamelton hearing your Petitioner so boldly take exceptions at Buckingham, and judging that he had good reason for what he had spoken, said, for all that let us send to the D. and signifie that they all who have seen the Marquesses body, both Physitians, Chyrurgeons, and others, may see that he is poysoned, and that his friends desire more Physitians out of the Colledge of London besides the D. Physitians, to beare witnesse in what case the Marquesse his body is in, and then if the D. conscience be guilty (said the Capt.) it will shew it selfe, as indeed it did: or the D. being so required hereof sent for his owne Physitians, & others out of London, who he caused forth to be brought unto him, before they went to see the Marquesse his body, giving his directions in these words, viz.

My Masters, there is a brute spread abroad, that the Marquesse of Hamelton is poysoned, See ye, but beware what you speake of poyson (which he said in a threatning sort in regard of delivery) for every Nobleman that dyeth must be poysoned.

If his conscience had not been guilty should not he have commanded the Physitians to enquire by all meanes possible, and make it knowne rather then to suppresse the speech of poysoning so worthy a man.

The Physitians being come your Petitioner with one hand leading D. Craig to the Table where the Marquesse his body was layd, and with the other hand throwing of the cloth from the body said to him, look here upon this spectacle. At the sight thereof D. Craig lifting up both his hands, heart and eyes to the heavens, astonished, said, Jesus bless me, I never saw the like, I cannot distinguish a face upon him; and in like manner all the rest of the D. & also the Chyrurgeons affirmed, they had never saw the like, albeit that they have travelled and practised thorow the greatest part of Europe: onely one, that said, My L. of Southampton was blistered all within the breast, as my L. Marq. was. Doctor Leicester, one of Buckinghams creatures, seing D. Craig & others so amazed at the sight of my Lords body, drew him first aside, and then the others, one after another, and whispered them in the eare to silence them.

Whereupon many went away, without speaking one word, the other who remained, acknowledged that those accidents of the dead body, could not be without poyson; but they said, they could not know how such a subtile art of poysoning could be brought into England; your Petitioner replyed, that money would bring both the Art and the Artist.

They all admire the deſcription of my Lord Marqueſſe his body, and teſtifie, that never any of the peſt, have ſuch accidents but Carbuncles, Rubons, or Spots, no ſuch huge bliſters with waters, and ſuch a huge uniforme ſwelling to ſuch dimentions above ſix times the naturall proportion. But he hath met with ſome, who have practiſed the poyſoning of Dogs, to try the force of ſome antidotes, and they have found that ſome poyſons have made the dogs ſick for a fortnight, or more without any ſwelling, untill they were dead, and then they ſwel ed above meaſure, and became bliſtered with waters of diverſe colours, and the haire came away with the skin when it was touched.

The Phyſitians then who remained were willing to certifie under their hands, that my Lord Marqueſſe was poyſoned. But your petitioner told them it was not needfull, ſince we muſt needs attend Gods leaſure to diſcover the author, the manner being ſo apparant, and ſo many hundreds having ſeene the body to witneſſe it, for the doores were kept open for every man to behold, and to be witneſſe who wou d.

The Duke of Buckingham making ſome counterfeit ſhew of ſorrow to men of great qualitie, found no other ſhift to divert the ſuſpition of the poyſoning of the Marqueſſe from him, but to lay it upon his maſter the King, ſaying, that the Marqueſſe for his perſon ſpirit and carriage, was ſuch as hee was born worthy to raigne; but the King his maſter hated him to death, becauſe he had a ſpirit too much for the Common weale; whereby the Duke did ſhew himſelfe no good ſubject to the King, who made the Kings honour to be tyrannicall, and the King a blood thirſty murtherer, and a moſt vile diſſembler, having heaped ſo many honours daily even to the laſt, making him Lord high Steward of his Majeſties houſe, and Iudge of the very Court, whom he had made before Viceroy of Scotland for the time of the Parliament in Scotland, Earle of Cambridge, privie Councellour in England, and Knight of the Garter, as if hee had raiſed him to all theſe honours, that the murthering of him might bee the leſſe ſuſpected to proceed from him.

The Kings nature hath alwayes beene obſerved to have beene ſo gracious and ſo free hearted towards every one, that he never would have wiſhed the Marqueſſe any harme, unleſſe that Buckingham had put great jealouſies and feares into his minde: for if any other had done it, he would have acquainted his favourite therewith. And then was it Buckinghams duty to remove from the King ſuch ſiniſtrous conceits of the Marqueſſe, as the Marqueſſe hath often done of Buckingham, upholding him upon all occaſions, and keeping the King from giving way to introduce any other favourite; whereupon Buckingham in that diverſion of the crime from him, and not only made the king, but alſo himſelfe guiltie of the Marqueſſe his death.

But Buckinghams falſehood and ill intention was long before rightly diſcovered when he did what he could to make the Earle of Netherſdale and my Lord Gordon (both neare kinſmen to my Lord Marqueſſe) ſo incenſed at him that they had like all three to have killed one another, if it had not beene that my Lord Marqueſſe by his wiſedome, did let them all know how they were abuſed.

If any diſſimulation be greater than Buckinghams, let any man judge: For when

when my Lord Marqueſſe his body was to be tranſported from Whitehall to his houſe at Biſhops-gate, Buckingham came out muffled and furred in his Coach, giving out that he was ſick for ſorrow of my Lord Marqueſſe his death; but as ſoone as he went to his houſe out of London, before his comming to the King, he triumphed and domineered with his faction ſo exceſſively, as if he had gained ſome great victorie. And the next day comming to the King put on a moſt lamentable and mournfull countenance for the death of my Lord Marqueſſe. No greater victorie could he have gotten to his mind, than to have deſtroyed that man who could and would have fetched his head off his ſhoulders if he had outlived King Iames, to have knowne his carriage in the poyſoning of him in his ſickneſſe; wherefore he thought it moſt neceſſarie to remove the Marqueſſe before hand.

The ſame day that my Lord Marqueſs died, Buckinham ſent my Lord Marqueſs his ſonne out of Town, keeping him as priſoner, that none could have private conference with him, untill his marriage of Buckinghams Neece was compleat; but either my Lord Denbigh or my Lady Denbigh, or my Lord Duke of Buckingham, or the Dutches of Buckingham, or the Counteſſe of Buckingham, was preſent, that none could let him underſtand how his father was murthered. Even your petitioner himſelfe, when he went to ſee him, within few dayes after his fathers death, was intreated not to ſpeake to him of the poyſoning of his father, which he did conceale at his firſt meeting becauſe their ſorrow was too recent. But he was prevented of a ſecond meeting, neither would Buckingham ſuffer the young Lord to goe to Scotland to ſee his fathers funerall, and to take order with his friends concerning his fathers eſtate, for feare that their intended marriage ſhould be overthrowne.

This Captivitie of the young Lord Marqueſſe laſted ſo long, untill that Buckingham cauſed his Majeſtie King Charles, to take the young Lord with himſelfe and Buckingham into Saint Iames his Parke, diſcharging all others from following them; and there to perſwade and urge the young Lord, without any more delay to accompliſh the marriage with Buckingham his Neece, which inſtantly was performed: ſo that Buckingham truſteth and preſumeth, that albeit the young Lord ſhould underſtand how his father was poyſoned by his meanes, yet being married to his Neece, he would not ſtirre to revenge it, but comport with it.

To all that is obſerved before, it is worthy to be added, that the bruit went through London long before the Lord Duke of Richmonds death, or his brothers, or my Lord of Southamptons, or of the Marqueſſe, that all the Noblemen that were not of the Dukes faction, ſhould be poyſoned, and ſo removed out of his way.

Alſo a paper was found in Kings ſtreet, about the time of the Duke of Richmonds death, wherein the Names of all thoſe Noblemen who have dyed ſince were expreſſed; and your petitioners name alſo ſet next to my Lord marqueſſe of Hamiltons name, with theſe words (to imbalme him) This paper was brought by my Lord Oldbarrs Daughter, cofin german to the Lord marqueſſe: Likewiſe a mountebanck, about that time, was greatly countenanced by the Duke of Buckingham, and by his meanes procured Letters patents, and re-

confirmations from the King, to prefer & se his skill in Physick through all England, who comming to London, to sell poyson, to kill man or beast within a yeare, or kill a year or two yeares, or a month or two, or within time prefixed any man desired, such for that they could not be helped nor discovered. Moreover, the Chaldean told my Lord Marquesse his death one of the Princes footmen told, That some of the greatest at Court had given poyson in his belly that he could not tell what was.

Here your Honours consecting the pregnancy of my Lord Duke of Buckingham his ambitious and most vindicative nature, his frequent quarels with my Lord Marquesse after to many reconciliations; his threatning of the Physitians, not to speake of the Poyson; his triumphing after my Lord Marquesse his death; his detaining of his Son almost prisoner, untill the Marriage was compleat with his Niece; the preceding brute of poysoning Buckingham his Adversaries; the paper of their names found, with sufficient intimation of their death, by the conclusion of the word (embalming) the poyson Mongers, not to think yours by Buckingham, may suffice for ground to take him and torture him, if discovered a private man: And herein your petitioner most earnestly demandeth justice against that Traytor, seeing by Act of Parliament it is made Treason to conspire the death of a Privie Councellor. Out of this Declaration, Interrogatories may be drawne for examination of Witnesses; wherein more is discovered to begin withall, then was layd open at the beginning of the Discovery of the poysoning of Sir Thomas Overbury.

Concerning the poysoning of King *James* of happie memory, King of Great Britaine.

THe Duke of Buckingham being in Spaine, advertised by Letters, how that the King began to censure him in his absence freely, and that many spake boldly to the King against him, and how the King had intelligence from Spaine of his unworthy carriage in Spaine; and how the Marquesse Hamelton (upon the sudden newes of the princes departure) had nobly reprehended the King for sending the Prince with such a young man without experience, and in such a private and sudden manner without acquainting the Nobility or Councell therewith, wrot a very bitter letter to the Marquesse of Hamelton, conceived new ambitious courses of his owne, and used all the devices he could to distaste the princes minde of the match with Spaine, so farre intended by the King, made haste home, where, when he came, he so carried himselfe, that whatsoever the King commanded in his Bed-chamber, hee controlled in the next; yea, received packets to the King from forraigne Princes, and dispatched answers without acquainting the King therewith, in a long time after. Whereat perceiving the King highly offended, and that the Kings minde was beginning to alter towards him, suffering him to be quarrelled and affronted in his Majesties presence; and observing that the King reserved my Lord of Bristoll to be a rod for him, urging daily his dispatch for France & expecting the Earle of Gondomor, who as it seemed was greatly esteemed and wonderfully credited by the King, and would second my Lord of Bristoll his accusations against him. He knew also that the King had vowed that in despite of all the devils in hell, he would bring the Spanish match about again, & that the Marquesse of Inicosa had given the K. bad impressions of him by whose articles of accusation, the K. himselfe had examined

mined some of the Nobilitie and privie Councell, and found out in the examination, that Buckingham had said after his comming from Spaine, that the King was now an old man, it was now time for him to bee at rest, and to be confined to some parke, to passe the rest of his time in hunting, and the Prince to be crowned.

The more the King urged him to be gone to France, the more hastie he made to stay: for he did evidently see that the King was fully resolved to rid himselfe of the oppression wherein he held him.

The King being sick of a certaine ague, and that in the spring, was of it selfe never found deadly; the Duke tooke his opportunitie when all the Kings Doctors of Physick were at dinner, upon the munday before the King dyed, without their knowledge or consent, offered to him a white powder to take: the which he a long time refused; but overcome with his flattering importunitie at length tooke it in wine, and immediately became worse and worse, falling into many swounings and paines, and violent fluxes of the belly so tormented, that his Majestie cryed out aloud of this white powder, would to God I had never taken it, it will cost me my life.

In like manner also the Countesse of Buckingham, my Lord of Buckinghams mother upon the Fryday after the Physitians being also absent, and at dinner, and not made acquainted with her doings, applyed a plaister to the Kings heart and breast; whereupon he grew faint, short breathed, and in a great agony. Some of the Physitians after dinner returning to see the king by the offensive smell of the plaister, perceived something to bee about him hurtfull unto him and searched what it should be, found it out, and exclaimed that the King was poysoned. Then Buckingham entring, commanded the Physitians out of the roome, caused one of them to be committed prisoner to his own chamber, and another to be removed from Court, quarrelled with others of the kings servants in his sick Majesties owne presence, so farre that hee offered to draw his sword against them in his Majesties sight. And Buckinghams mother kneeling downe before his Majestie, cryed out with a brazen face, justice, justice; Sir, I demand Iustice of your Majestie. His Majestie asked her for what? For that which their lives are no wayes sufficient to satisfie, for saying that my son and I have poysoned your Majestie. Poysoned me said he; with that turning himselfe, swounded, and she was removed.

The Sunday after his Majesty dyed, and Buckingham desired the Physitians who attended his Majestie, to signe with their hands a writ of testimony, that the powder which he gave him, was a good and safe medicine, which they refused.

Buckinghams creatures did spread abroad a rumour in London, that Buckingham was so sorry for his Majesties death, that he would have dyed, that he would have killed himselfe if they had not hindred him; which your Petitioner purposely enquired after of them that were neere him at that time, who said that neither in the time of his Majesties sicknesse, nor after his death, hee was more moved, then if there had never happened either sicknesse or death to his Majestie.

One day when his Majestie was in great extremitie, he rode post to London to pursue his sister in Law to have her stand in sack-cloth in S. Pauls for adultery. And another time in his Majesties agony, he was busie in contriving and concluding a marriage for some of his cosens.

Immediately after his Majesties death, the Physitian who was commanded to

his

his Chamber was set at libertie with a Caveat to hold his peace, the others threatned if they kept not good tongues in their heads.

But in the meane time the Kings body and head swelled above measure, his haire with the skin of his head stuck to the pillow, his nailes became loose upon his fingers and toes.

Your Petitioner needeth to say no more to understanding men, only one thing he beseecheth, That taking the Traitor who ought to bee taken without any feare of his greatnesse, the other matters may bee examined and the accessaries with the guiltie punished.

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16

A Letter from Mr. *Robert Iohnston*, one of the Elders of *Edenborough*, directed to Master *VVilliam Agard* in Cambridge, with a Petition of the English there inclosed, to the Kings most Excellent Majesty.

Also Master *Agards* Letter to his friend in London, conserning matters of great moment, tending to the pacification of the miserable distractions of these Present times.

Keepe the Vnity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.



Oct^o. 1. /2

Printed at London for T. *How*. 1642.



A Letter From Mr. *Robert Iohnston*, one of the Elders at Edenborough, directed to Mr. *William Agard* in Cambridge; with a Petition of the Engliſh there incloſed, to the moſt excellent Majeſty of the KING.

SIR,

I Ioy to heare that my good Couſen your wife is already the happy Mother of two Sonnes, for whom as for my ſelfe I pray daily, deſining to have an opportune meeting, that we may rejoyce together in the Lord.

I doubt not of your diligence in doing your God ſervice. You are one of thoſe Watch-men upon Ieruſalems Walles; Never hold your peace, keepe not ſilence, give him no reſt, untill hee ſhall eſtabliſh and make his Sion a praiſe in the earth.

There is great cauſe now, for (with great regreet) I

feele a fearefull ſtrike given to the halfe happy Act of Pacification: Papiſts and Prelates joyne with men (acted by the ſpirit of Sathan) to ſeperate the King from His Parliament in England, and his loyall Subjects (here and there as in Ireland) to the ruine of all: would to God they were all gone that ſo trouble us. Wee have hope here (and I pray for the like with you) that their wicked rod ſhall not long reſt upon your Lot.

Let it pleaſe you to peruſe the incloſed Petition, it came to me by a good hand, tends to a right end, from a firme ground, through a middeſt anſwerable your furtherance will doe much, but God onely can accompliſh the worke which I pray for, and am ſtill

Your loving Conſen:

Edenborough the 12. of Septemb. 1642:

Robert Johnſton.

To the

To the most Excellent Majesty of the King, and to the most Honourable the Lords and Peeres of this Realm. As also to the honourable the Lords and others, Knights Citizens, Barons and burgesses in the Commons Houte of Parliament now ASSEMBLED.

The most humble Petition of the Churches of God in England, and of every lively member of the same, whereof the Lord Christ Iesus is the Head.

Sheweth,

THat *I am*, is the God of Vnity and Order, But his enemy (*Sathan*) is the author of division & disorder; as appeares by the first *Adams* fall, & the second *Adams* reparation, when to prevent the malice of *Abaddon*, God united his Diety to humanity in the person of his deare son, and him sent to seeke and save al poor lost sinners beleevers: That in the hypostaticall union, there are 3. distinct Offices, of Prophet, Priest, and King, of all which (in his humanity) the Lord Iesus had possession, yet alleadged that his Kingdome (as then) was not of this world, remayning now and ever since at the right hand of his most holy Father in glory, untill his enemies shall be made his footstool. That in 1642 years from the incarnation, the Almighty hath already vindicated the Prophetique and Priests Offices to his Son, against all Turkes, Iewes, Papists, infidels: The Regall Office onely remains undetermined: And the axe is now laid to the root, he that will not take the Lord Iesus Christ for his K. must be brought out and slain.

That

That your Most Excellent Majesty (the fountaine of piety and justice, and the life of the Law unto us your most humble Petitioners & obedient Subjects) have set to your seale and in acknowledgment of Gods truth, have subscribed, *Christo auspice Regno. Posui Deum adiutorem meum*, and the like.

That your Lordships and Honours have likewise come into the same Government, contending against those Laws and Customes, opposite to the Law established by the Lord Iesus, and which *Elutherius* prescribed to *Lucius* first Christian King of this Nation, and to both the Doctrine and Discipline setled by the Apostles, when at Antioch the Disciples were first called Christians.

That the recovery of that name Christian will expell the by names, *Papists, Protestants, Lutherans, Brownists, Sectaries, Roundheads, Prickeare*, and what not, disgracefully put upon the Christian Subjects of this Kingdome; Quiet the present distractions and distempers, cleare all fears and jealousies, settle the true Religion, and fundamental Laws of England, Your Majesties Prerogative, the Parliaments priviledge, and the Subjects propriety and peace, will so be all at one, to your generall contentment, and the saving of All in all.

May it therefore please Your most Excellent Majesty and your Parliment to agree speedily upon that one thing necessary, and prevent the malicious intendments of the Common adversary.

For which your petitioners are daily suppliant at the Almightie throne, and your laborious servants.

A letter

A Letter From one Maſter *Agard* to his friend in London.

Sir,

I Have read his Majeſties Declarations at large, printed at Cambridge, as alſo his Majeſties vindication, written as I have heard ſay by a Parliament man, but without his name thereunto printed and publiſhed. I have alſo ſeene the paſſages (publiſht) betweene the Scots and the Engliſh anſwering one another, and agreeing together to a far better end (as I hope) than *Sampſons* Foxes with their fire-brands, for they burnt up onely the ſtanding Corne of the Philiſtims, who did then Lord it over Iſrael; theſe I hope will eradicate all thoſe Fox-like incendiaries, Papiſts and Prelates, that have wrought their ends upon the continent of Europe hitherto, and now are at worke in England and Ireland. Bleſſed be God, the North Country Scotland, & the parts of England bordering thereupon, are ſom in calmer condition for the preſent, Pray God continue it, and let the eternall Majeſty be pleaſed to tell his Majeſty (our moſt Gracious Soveraigne) that the Proteſtant Religion in England is not yet ſufficiently reformed, and

that

that his Majesty may not stand still as the Sun (albeit Iosh*ua* should command it) much lesse goe backe as in Hezechiahs time; but he must goe forward as a Gyant, fight the good fight, and finish his course in keeping faith, that he may not stagger, but stand fast to his temporall Crown in this life, and so obtaine an eternall Crowne of glory: to which my prayer made in the name and mediation of the Lord Iesus Christ, let the Almighty God, and all his faithfull servants say, Amen.

I have sent you herewith a Copy of a Petition which came from England to Edenborough, and is thence againe returned unto me in a Letter from my Cousen *Johnston*, the originalls are here inclosed, you may consider how usefull they may prove, and use them as you please. Pray let me heare from you as you can with the first opportunity. I will repay it thankfully, and rest.

Yours to be commanded.

From my house in Lond. William Aguel.
24. Sept. 1642.

FINIS.



The Parliaments

LETTER

To the King of

FRANCE

Wherein they Declare their Resolution and Desires to his sacred Majesty, assented to by both Houses, September 29.

Also a true Relation of a battle fought by the L. *Strange*, and the Inhabitants of *Manchester*, *September* 29.

Together with the Proceedings of the Lord Fairfaxe, and M. *Hotham*, against the Earl of *Cumberland* and the rest of the Cavaleers in the Northerne parts, with the manner of the Lord *Fairfax* joyning with Mr. *Hotham*.

LONDON:

Printed for Henry Seymour, October 1. 1642.

BRITISH MUSEUM

An exact and perfect

RELATION

OF

A great battle fought by the Inhabitants of Mancheſter againſt the Lord Strange who came to plunder the ſaid Towne.



He town of *Mancheſter* hath oftentimes bin oppoſed by the malignant Party and their Adherents, yet ſtill hath defended themſelves with much courage and magnanimity, inſomuch that they have oftentimes bin maſters of the field, and have had the day of tryumph over their Enemies and Adverſaries.

But the Lord *Strange* whoſe hopes have oftentimes bin fruſtrated, took a ſecond Reſolution, and prepared himſelf to march againſt *Manchester*, with an intent to pillage the ſame, and to diſarme all thoſe that ſtood well-affected to *King and Parliament*.

The ſaid Lord *Strange* hath ever ſince his laſt attempt againſt *Manchester*, dayly endeavoured to raiſe a great power and ſtrength, to aſſiſt His Majeſty againſt the *Parliament*, and to put in execution his deſigns againſt the Inhabitants of the ſaid Town, and having prepared and raiſed a great number, he marched towards *Manchester* with two and twenty hundred Horſe and Foot, moſt of them being Papiſts, their minds thirſting after bloud; but the *Inhabitants of Manchester* having information of their comming, immediately reſolved to put themſelves in a poſture of Warre, and every man to ſtand upon his own guard, but before they had fortified the Bridge, the Lord *Strange* appeared with his Forces, aud at his comming

ming thither, he demanded entrance, but it was denyed him.

Wherupon he commanded his souldiers to charge against the men of *Manchester*, and drew out divers troops, placing them against severall parts of the walls, insomuch that the City was invironed round with the Cavaleers, making many shots against them.

But nevertheleſſe, ſuch was the courage of the unndanted ſpirits that were within the town, that they reſolved to fight it out to the laſt man, and for the ſpace of 4 or 5. hours, the fight continued very furious, till the noble Lord *Fairfaxe* and *M. Hotham*, Son to that worthy *champion* Sir *John Hotham*, *Governour of Hull*, drew up their power and ſtrength, and came with all ſpeed towards *Mancheſter*, to aſſiſt the Inhabitants thereof againſt the Cavaleers.

But ſo ſoon as the Malignant Party had information that the Lord *Fairfaxe* and Mr. *Hotham* were comming they preſently betook themſelves to flight, not daring

to

to give battle againſt them. Thus was the Lord *Strange* with all his Cavaleers quite fruſtrated of their hopes, and beaten from the Town of *Mancheſter*.

The greateſt part of the Gentry and Commonalty of *Yorke* now begins to pluck up their ſpirits, and make head againſt the *Parliament* Foes, having of late received many men and arms from Sir *John Hotham*, whoſe Son commands them, and their Army dayly encreaſeth, the Lord *Fairfaxe* being Generall over them.

They have won many victories, having taken divers ſtrong holds for the ſervice of the *Parliament*, which the Malignant Party had poſſeſſion of, and they are alſo reſolved to ceize upon all the Parliaments enemies in that County, whereupon Sir *William Savile* and many other Malignants are fled to *Pomfret* Caſtle for Refuge.

But the Lord *Fairfaxe* is reſolved to make chaſe after them, and to beſiege the ſaid Caſtle, there being great ſtore of arms and Ammunition therin.

The

The Honourable Court of *Parliament*, having taken into ſerious conſideration theſe particulars, and being deſirous to diſcharge their duty to His Majeſty and the Kingdome, to preſerve the peace thereof, and to prevent the miſeries of Civill Warre amongſt His Majeſties loving ſubjects, yet notwithſtanding they hold themſelves bound to uſe all the means and power, which by the Laws and Conſtitutions of this Kingdome they are truſted with, for defence and protection thereof, and of the Subjects from force and violence.

And to diſcharge their duties towards God, His Majeſty, and the Kingdome, they do in theſe enſuing Propoſitions Declare their humble Deſires.

1. *That his Maieſty would be pleaſed to withdraw his forces.*

2. *That he would be pleaſed to recall the Commiſſions of Array.*

And laſtly, that he would be pleaſed to withdraw his Perſon from thoſe wicked Perſons whom he is now inviſioned with.

Theſe

The Parliament having intelligence that the Ammunition that were ſent to Ireland for the Relief of the diſtreſſed Proteſtants, was taken by a French man of Warre, therfore after ſome debate thereof, it was reſolved and concluded on by both houſes, That a Letter ſhould bee forthwith drawne up and ſent to the King, which was to this effect, as followeth.

That His Majeſty would be pleaſed to make reſtitution for ſuch Arms, Powder, and Match, which was lately taken going out of Holland to Ireland by a French man of warre, which was done accordingly.

Sir John Hothams Son ſallyed out of the Town of Hull with two Troops of Horſe and 500 Foot, and joyned his Forces with the L. Fairfaxe, with an intent to cleer that County of the Cavaleers, which Letter was read at a Conference by the E. of Holland.

FINIS.



A DECLARATION OF THE Prince Paltſgrave,

TO THE K. Maurice, of Bohemia

High Court of PARLIAMENT, concerning the Cauſe of his departure out of *England* in theſe times of diſtractions, and the manner of his cariage and behaviour during the time of his continuance with His Majeſty in the North.

Likewiſe his earneſt requeſt to the Parliament, and the Parliaments anſwer thereunto: Declared in his Letter to the Houſe of Peeres on Tueſday laſt.

ALSO

THE QUEEN OF BOHEMIA her Reſolution concerning Prince ROBERTS coming into *England* againſt the Parliament.

Likewiſe a true Relation, ſhewing how the Marqueſſe of Hartford *and his Company are beſet by the Earle of* Bedford *and his Forces.*

Printed for J. Greene. *October* 1. 1642.

A DECLARATION
OF THE
Prince Palatine,
AND
High Court of PARLIAMENT, concerning
the Cause of his departure out of England in three
times of adjourning, and the manner of his coming
and abiding there during the time of his continuance
with His Majesty in the North.

BRITISH MUSEUM

ALSO
THE QUEEN of BOHEMIA
her Relation concerning Prince ROBERTS
coming into England against the Parliament.

Likewise a true Relation, passing from the Marquess of
Hartford and his Company out of the Bank of
Bedford and his Ports.

Printed for J. Greene. October 1. 1642.

THE QUEEN OF BOHEMIA

Her Resolution concerning Prince *Roberts* coming into *England* against the Parliament.

ALSO THE

PRINCE PALTSGRAVES

Declaration to the Parliament of his departure out of England *in these times of distraction: with his earnest request to the Parliament, and the Parliaments answer thereunto.*

THe Prince Paltsgrave hearing of the jealousies and differences that began to arise betweene the King and Parliament, came into England, no doubt, with an intent to use his best skill to settle those distractions: but it seemed his coming was not very well pleasing to his Majestie, for after his coming to London, for some space of time, he was not admitted into his Majesties pre-

ſence, but lay privately at Eſſex houſe, and therefore was there the leſſe hope that his coming ſhould doe any good: which when he perceived, he tooke his leave of his Majeſty, and went againe over into Holland, his ſecond brother Prince Robert going away alſo with him. But it ſeems thoſe two brothers had contrary affections and intents towards England: for the one went with an intent and purpoſe to ſtay in Holland and not to meddle further with the diſtractions that were in England, and the other (as it appeares by the event) with a reſolution to bring in what Forces he could to aſsiſt the King in a war againſt the Parliament. But ſome are of opinion, that it was infuſed into his braine by the Queene after he went over from hence, which was much againſt his Mothers (the good Lady ELIZABETH) mind. And although ſhe could not perſwade him from coming againe into England, with a purpoſe to increaſe the diviſion between the King and Parliament,

ment, yet she did refuse to give him her blessing, who went about so wicked a designe.

Not long since the Queene of Bohemia sent to the Parliament, to acquaint them that the twelve thousand pounds a yeere which she had wont to receive as a stipend from England, since these distractions betweene his Majesty and the Parliament have happened, hath not been paid; which the Parliament have taken into consideration, and notwithstanding all those ill offices which are done here by her sonne Prince Robert, yet so soone as his Majesty wilbe pleased to passe the Bill for Tonnage and Poundage, which hath been a long time with his Majesty, out of which it is to bee paid, or the present distempers a little over, she should have the same.

On Tuesday the 27. of September, a letter was read in the Parliament House which came from the Prince Palsgrave, sent to the House of Peeres, wherein he makes a Declaration of his carriage

in

in England while he was with his Majeſtie, ſhewing to their Lordſhips, that he had oftentimes perſwaded and counſelled his Majeſtie to hearken to the advice of his great Counſell, the high and honourable Court of Parliament, and to return unto them, and that during all the time that he continued in England, hee did never uſe any meanes either by words or actions to increaſe the difference betweene his Majeſtie and the Parliament, but as much as in him lay, had uſed all poſsible endeavours to the contrary: neither ſince his going into Holland had hee beene an occaſion of ſending over any ammunition, or other proviſion for warre, to bee imployed againſt the Parliament. Hee further declared unto their Lordſhips, that he was in great want of moneyes, deſiring their Lordſhips to conſider, that there hath beene but little ſupply had out of England lately: and therefore intreated their Lordſhips to let him have a thouſand pound for the ſupply of his preſent

neceſsities.

neceſsities. Which Letter the Lords communicated to the Houſe of Commons, deſiring that they would joyne with them in an Order, that the foreſaid Prince Palſgrave might have a thouſand pound, in regard the ſum he deſired was not great, but only to furniſh his preſent occaſions: which after ſome debate in the Houſe of Commons, they joyned with the Lords in the ſaid Order, and it was done accordingly.

The Marqueſſe of Hartford when he fled from Sherburne, marched toward Bruton in Somerſetſhire, but the next day turned his courſe toward Minyard, and the Earle of Bedford purſued after him with his troupes, following after him with a continuall alarum, with the aſsiſtance of the countrey, and ſent a poſt before to Minyard to ſtop his paſſage into Wales by ſea, and ſo purſued him to the town: but finding no paſſage to get over into Wales, as he intended, he poſſeſſed himſelfe of a ſtrong Inne in the ſaid town, & there for the preſent ſtands upon

upon his guard: the Earle of Bedford with his Forces came to the said towne, and continues there: and a great number also of the Trained Bands of severall countreyes neere adjacent are come thither, so that the Marquesse will finde it very hard to give them the slip the third time; for he dares not look out of the doores, he is so closely beset: and were it not for feare of burning downe the towne, they would quickly force him and his company out of the house: but within two or three dayes it is supposed that hunger will bring them forth to fight, rather then they will starve: and therefore we may assure our selves, that by the next Post we shall heare that the Earle of Bedford hath taken them.

FINIS.



FOR

KINGS,

OR,

Rules for Princes to governe by.

Wherein is contained these ensuing particulars,

1 A Discourse touching Regall and Politique Government.
2 A Prince must be just in his sentence.
3 What Man is fit to be a Governour, and to beare Rule.
4 That a Prince ought to be true of his word.
5 That a Prince ought to be religious.
6 That a Prince ought not to shed innocent bloud.
7 That a Prince ought to be circumspect in giving credit to evill reports.
8 That a Prince ought to beware of Parasites.
9 What kind of men ought to be of the Kings Councell.
10 That it is dangerous for a Prince to take aid of a stranger.
11 How a Prince may get and keep the love of his Subjects.
12 That a Prince ought to be well advised how he begin a War.

LONDON,
Printed for *Henry Huston*. 1642.

Examples for Princes.

AS in Naturall things, the Head being cut off, the rest cannot be called a Body; no more can in politique things, a Multitude, or Communalty, without a Head, be incorporate: Therefore a people desiring to live in society, and willing to erect either a Politique Body or a Kingdome, must of necessity chuse one to govern that Body, who in a Kingdome of *Regendo*, is called *Rex*, and so by the People is established a Kingdome: which Government is absolutely the best. And as the head of the Physicall body cannot change the reyns and sinews thereof, nor deny the members of their proper strength and necessary nutriture: no more can a king who is head of the politicke Body, alter or change the Laws of that Body, or take from the people their goods or Substance against their willes; for a king is chosen (and bound) to maintain the Laws of His Subiects, and to defend their Bodies and goods. So *Brute* arriving in this Iland, with His *Trojans*, erected here a regall and politicke government, which hath for the most part continued ever since: for though we have had many changes, as first the *Romans*, then the *Saxons*, then the *Danes*, and Lastly the *Normans*, yet in the time of all these nations, and during their Raignes, the kingdom was for the most part governed in the same manner as it is now. *Plutarch* saith, that all at first that governed were called Tyrants, but afterward the good governours called King. For though a man by force do subdue Cities & Countreys, yet he ought to rule according to reason; and if he know God, according to the Law of God: but when he is admitted King by the people, and hath his power from them, He may not Subiect the people to any other power, yet He hath a great and large Prerogative, which He may use at His pleasure.

And here I thinke it not a misse to set down some few Lawes and Customes of other Common-wealths, whereby their good governement may appeare, they not being Christians; *Proteus*

King

King of Egypt feasted one day seven Ambassadours, which at his request shewed unto him three of their principall Lawes and customes. And first the Ambassadour of *Rome* said, we have the temples in great Reverence, we are very obedient to our governours, and we doe punish wicked men severely: The *Carthagenian* Ambassadour said, our Noble men never left fighting, the Artificers never left labouring, nor the Phylosophers never left teaching, The *Cicilian* said, in our Common-wealth justice is exactly kept; marchandice is excercised with truth, and all men account themselves equall: The *Rodians* said, that at Rodes old men are honest, young men shamefast, and women use very few words: The *Athenians* said, in our common-wealth rich men are not suffered to be divided into factions, nor poor men to be idle, nor the governours to be ignorant: The *Lacedemonians* said, in *Sparta* envye reigneth not, for all men are equall, nor covetousnesse, for all goods are common, nor sloth, for all men labour: in our common-wealth said the Ambassadour of the *Sicanians*, voyages are not permitted, because they should not bring home new factions: Physitians are not suffered, lest they should kill the sound: nor Lawyers to take upon them the defence of causes and suites. And to these may be added *Anatharsis* letter to the Athenians, wherein He counselleth them to chuse a king that is just in his sentence, true in His word, constant in his act, secret and liberall, for these be the principall morrall vertues most necessary in a prince.

A Prince ought to be just in His sentence according to the words of *Solomon Wisd.* 1. saying, *love justice you that judge the Earth*, for a just king doth advance his country: and the king that judgeth the poor rightly his throne shall be establish.d forever. A Prince ought to be just in his sentence.

Now to shew what manner of man is fittest to govern. I read in *Livie*, that men borne in armes, great in deeds and rude in eloquence ought to be chosen Councelors, and that men of quick spirits, sharpe wits, learnd in the Law, and eloquence; should be for the city for a prince ought to be a martial man stout & courageous to defend his subjects, and offend his enemies, not to be curious to Speak eloquently, but to deliver his minde plainly, and wisely, it being more necessary for a prince to doe well, then Speak well, *Paucinus* saith, those are to be hated, who in their acts are fools and in their words Phylosophers: for wise words are not commendable, if the deeds be not answerable, they therefore Who fittest to governe.

ſaith *Plato*. that will have glory in this life, and attain to glory after death, and be beloved of many and feared of all, let him be vertuous in good works, and deceive no man, with vain words. All good and worthy Princes, have Laboured to attain to this wiſdom and to exact juſtice moſt exactly in ſo much that ſome have not ſpared their own children ſo ſacred a thing they ever held juſtice to be: as for example. *Brutus*, who underſtanding that his two ſons were of the conſpiracy for *Tarquinius ſuperbus*. *Alexander Magnus* was ſo far from being tranſported from Juſtice, as when any man made complaint to him of another, he ſtopped alwayes one eare, ſaying, he muſt keepe that for the party accuſed. King *Edgar* of England had likewiſe that care to doe juſtice, as in winter time he would ride up and downe the Countrey, and make enquiry of the miſdemeanours of his Officers and Governours, and puniſhed them ſeverely that offended the Law. And as the followers of Juſtice ſhall not onely be glorious on earth, but live in eternall glory; ſo the Princes that miniſter injuſtice, and doe not judge rightly, ſhall reap infamy on earth, and undergoe the high diſpleaſure of God; for the royall Prophet ſaith, that *God is terrible to the Kings of the earth, Pſal.* 75. which doth very well appeare by the ſtrange puniſhments which he oftentimes inflicts upon them, as upon *Pharaoh, Nebuchadnezzar, Ozias, Ioram, Antiochus, Herod, Mempriſius* King of Britaine, who was devoured by Wolves, *Seldred* a *Saxon* King of *England*, who was killed by the Divell as he was banqueting with his Nobillity. And many more for their injuſtice have beene very ſtrangely puniſhed, and oftimes loſt their Kingdomes, as appeareth by *Eccle.* Chap. 11. being tranſferred from Nation to Nation for injuſtice and injuries, therfore it behoveth a Prince to take ſpeciall care hereunto.

A Prince to be true of his word.

Next it is requiſite that a Prince be true of his word, both towards God, and man, for *Soloman* ſaith, that *a lying lip doth not become a Prince, Pro.* 17. many examples might be given touching ſeverall Princes who have beene ſeverally puniſhed for breach of faith: As for example, *Charles* the 7o. King of France, when he was *Dolphin*, made *John* Duke of Burgundy beleeve that hee would make peace with him, whereupon they met at a place appointed, where *Charles* cauſed the Duke to bee preſently killed, but *Charles* after this was forced to aske *Phillip* forgiveneſſe openly

ly by his Embaſſadors. *Charles* the laſt Duke of Burgundy having given ſafe conduct to the E. of St. *Paul* Conſtable of France, took him priſoner, and delivered him to the French King, who put him to death for his treachery, and ſet the ſaid E. free. Thus you may ſee how honourable it is to keepe their word, and what they deſerve that falcifie their faith; for, a faithleſſe Priuce is beloved of none, but hated of all, ſuſpected of his friends, not truſted of his enemies, and forſaken of all men in his greateſt neceſſity.

A Prince ought to be religious.

Alſo a Prince ought to be religious, for *Solomon* ſaith, *God preſerveth the ſtate of the righteous and is a child to them that walke uprightly, Pro. Cap.* 2. and in *Deut* 17. a King is commanded after he be placed in his Kingdome to read the book of Deuteronomy, that he may learne to feare God and to Keepe his words, for ſo doing a Prince ſhall proſper.

A Prince ought not to ſhed innocent blood.

It is alſo expedient that a Prince have ſpeciall care that he put not his hand in innocent blood, neither by tyranny, malice, ambition, policy, or falſe reports or informations, for to be a Tyrant is odious to God and man, and to bring himſelfe to an evill end. As for example, K. *Iohn* of England murthered his Nephew, and in the end was murthered himſelfe. *Richard* Duke of Glocester murthered his two Nephewes, Sons to *Ed.* 4. to make himſelfe King, and after was ſlaine in Boſworth by *Hen.* 7. *for blood requires blood*, and let a bloody Prince never looke for a better end.

A Prince to be circumſpect in giving credit to reports.

But many Princes have beene mightily abuſed by falſe reports and rong informations, David therefore prayed God to deliver him *from wicked lips and a lying tongue, Pſal.* 119. and in *Eccleſ.* 6. it is ſaid, *Separate thy ſelfe from thy enemies, and beware even of thy friends*, for where a man doth truſt the moſt there a man may be ſooneſt deceived, as was *Francis* Duke of Britain who put his brother *Giles* to death upon the falſe report of thoſe who went meſſengers betwene them & after put them to death alſo, therefore a Prince ſhould duly examine every report whether it be true or not, before he give credit thereunto, and eſpecially if it concerne life, for innocent blood doth cry to God for revenge, as appeareth in the [illegible]oc. 6. ſaying, *how long Lord holy and juſt judgeſt thou not, and revengeſt not our blood upon them that dwell upon the earth.*

A Prince to beware of Parasites.

I have read that *Apollo* drew the picture of a king (which he sent to *Ptolmaus*) set in a chaire of state with great hands, great eares, and besides him ignorance, suspition a tale teller, and flattery: these will labour to be a bout a Pr. therefore a Prince must labour to avoid them. It is therefore a happy thing for Princes to have those about them that will not flatter but tell the truth. If therefore the Emperour *Gordean* said, that Prince was very unfortunate who hath not about him those that may plainly tell him the truth, for a King knoweth not what passeth, but by relation of those who converse with him. *Theopompus* being asked how a Prince might preserve his Kingdome, said by giving his friends liberty to speake the truth, and by keeping his Subjects from oppression.

What kind of persons are to be of a Princes counsail.

A Prince should be very carefull in making choice of his councellors, for *Plato* saith, that many Princes are undone for want of faithfull friends and servants to councell them, therefore *Alfred* K. of England sought out the wisest & most learnedst men to bee of his Counsail. The Emperour *Constantine* to make proofe of his friends, made shew to abandon Christian Religion, and to turne to Idolatry, he was instantly applauded by a great number whom presently he banished the Country, for a Prince shall never want followers, I wish that our gracious Soveraine would make this his president, but to my former discourse. Councellors saith *Iulius Cesar* in one of his Orations to the Senate, should not be lead by malice, friendship, anger nor mercy, and if they concur in one lawfull opinion, though the Prince be opposite yet it is fitting he should yeeld to them, for so did the Emperour *Marcus Antoninus* saying, it must be as you will, for it is greater reason that I being one should follow your opinion, then you being many; wise, and learned should yeeld to mine.

Dangerous for a Prince to take aid of a stranger.

If a Prince take aid of a stranger stronger then himselfe, he may thereby endanger his State, as for example *Heruls*, *Goths*, and *Lumberds* came into Italy for succor became Lords thereof, so did they of Franconia, with their King *Pl* by *Pharamon* the Galls, now France, and the *Saxons*, did the like to England.

How

How to get and keepe the loue of his SVBIECTS.

A Prince to the end he may be strong at home, and neede no forraine Forces, should alwayes expect his own subiects, (especially men of worth and service) as well in peace as war, that he may win the loue and hearts of his Subiects, the meanest whereof may doe him service, in some kind at one time or other. For *Seneca* saith, the onely inexpugnable force of a P. is the loue of his subiects; *Antonius Pius* would say that he had rather preserue one of his Subiects, then kill 1000. of his enemie; and *Pythagoras* answereth that Subiects are to the Prince as the winde to the fire, for the stronger the wind the greater the fire, so the richer the Subiects be, the stronger the Prince, but where Machiavells principles take effect, there the Subiects must be made poore, by continuall subsedies, exactions and impositions, that the people may alwayes be kept vnder as slaues, and feare their Prince, which course extinguisheth the loue of the people towards the P. and ingendereth hatred (the actions of the Clergy, evill Counsellors of the State, monopolies and other, and other machavilian practises of some great ones in authority, has almost procured the same effect in England) *Philip Comines* greatly blameth such Princes, as seeke not to compound and end diffords and quarrels amongst their greatest subiects, but rather nourish the one part, wherein they do but set their own house on fire, as did the wife of *Henry* the 6. taking part with the Duke of Somerset, against the Earle of Warwick, which caused the war betwixt York and Lancaster. *Augustus* the Emperour made a Law concerning exactions, which hee called *Augusta*, that no payment should be exacted of the people, but for the profit of the Common-wealth. And when *Marcus Antoninus* laid a double tax upon the people, they answered, that if he would have two taxes in one yeare, he must give them two summers, two harvests, and two vintages, for the people cannot endure to be overcharged, if they be, great inconvenience may grow thereby, (our later times give apparent testimonies of the truth of this particular.) A Prince therefore should loue and cherish his Subiects, but not oppresse them;

for

for *Tiberius Nero*, when ſome perſwaded him to take great tributes of the Provinces, ſaid, that a good Shepheard ſhould ſheare his ſheep, but not devoure them; and that State (ſaith *Thales*) is beſt ordered, which hath in it neither too wealthy nor too poor Citizens.

A Prince ought to be well adviſed how he beginn Warre.

It is not for a Prince to make war upon every ſmal occaſion, but to be ſure the cauſe be good and juſt, which then will bring honour to his perſon, ſafety to his ſoule, and encouragement to all his ſouldiers: yet according to the ſaying of *Octavius Cæſar*, neither Battaile nor War is to be undertaken, unleſſe there may be evidently ſeene more hope of gaine, then feare of dammage; but above all, a religious Peace is to be embraced by a Prince, and ſo to be offered to his enemie: for *Bleſſed is the Peace-maker, for he ſhall inherit the kingdome of heaven:* which that we may all doe, let us endeavour to purchaſe a peace by our timely repentance, and hearty prayers. When the Iſraelites had ſinned, and that God had reſolved to deſtroy them, *Moſes* roſe up, and by his prayers became a Mediator betwixt God and them, ſo that Gods Juſtice was converted to Mercie. Is there not in all this ſpacious Kingdome one Religious *Moſes* to ſtand betwixt Gods Juſtice and our ſins, by his prayers to purchaſe a pardon, and remove this threatning miſchiefe which hangs over our heads? O that God would put it into the hearts both of Prince and People, to joyne with one heart and one voice, and cry unto the Lord, for who knowes what an effect ſuch an union might produce? who knows whether the Lord will repent him of his wrath, and turn this deſtruction from us?

FINIS.

BRITISH MUSEUM



THE TYRANNY OF SATAN,

Discovered by the teares of a Converted Sinner, in a Sermon Preached in *Paules* Church, on the 28 of *August*, 1642.

By THOMAS GAGE, *formerly a Romish Priest, for the space of 38 years, and now truly reconciled to the Church of England.*

LONDON,
Printed by *Tho. Badger*, for *Humphrey Mosley*, at the Prince's Armes in Pauls Church-yard.
M.DC.XLII.

THE TYRANNY OF SATAN,

Discovered by the traces of a

PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

LONDON,

Printed by Tho. Badger, for Humphrey Moseley, at the

M.DC.XLII.

To the Right Honorable, Isaac Pennington Lord Major of the City of *London*, together with the Right Worshipfull the Sheriffes, and Aldermen of the same City.

SIRS,

MAy it please you, *Saul* that great Persecutor of the new beginning Church of Christ, that enemy who breathed out threatnings and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord, after he was cast down from his horse, and his pride was quelled by the might and power of Christ, he was by the Lords order committed to the care of *Ananias*, *Acts* 9. 11. True it is, *Ananias* answered the Lord, that he was jealous and fearefull of *Saul*, because he had heard by many, how much evill he had done to the Saints at *Jerusalem*, 13. v. But the Lord replyed no more unto him, but that he should not feare nor mistrust him, because he had turned his heart, and made him a cho-

ſen veſſell to beare his name before the *Gentiles*, and Kings, and children of *Iſrael*, & that he would teach him how great things he ſhould ſuffer for his names ſake. Let it pleaſe your Honour and Worſhips to behold here my own caſe deciphered; for if *Saul* perſecuted the Church of Chriſt; I my ſelfe have perſecuted the ſame Church, by oppoſing the doctrin of it, by preaching and teaching contrary to it, by procuring to ſeduce ſoules from it, by writing againſt it. But now it hath pleaſed that mighty and powerfull Lord; againſt whom there is no reſiſtance, to caſt me down upon the ground, to quell my pride, to lighten me round about with the beames and light of his mercies, to make me know how hard a thing it is to kicke againſt the will & calling of God, and with trembling and feare to make me ſay, *Lord what wilt thou have me to do?* If *Saul* was ſent to *Damaſcus* to *Ananias*, a chiefe and zealous follower of Chriſt, that by him he might be protected from the *Jews* and enemies of the Lord, who doubtles hearing of his change and converſion would have cruelly torne and ſlaughtered him if they could have found him. So I my ſelfe by a ſecret and inward order, which I have found by God delivered to my Soule, have judged it meet and fit to ſearch out in this City ſome zealous *Ananias*, ſome religious follower of Chriſts pure doctrin, that I may be ſafely ſheltered &

pro-

protected from the violent attepts of the Lords enemies the Papists, who I know will endeavour to do me all the mischief they can. Therfore let it please your Honor and Wrs. who are well known to be as *Ananias* in *Damascus*, zealous and truly religious followers of Christs own doctrin, and favorers of the pure Word of the Lord, to cast your eyes upon me a new converted *Saul*, to shelter and protect me from those that plot my mischief. O when sureſt they are to hinder my perseverance in the truth, by plotting and studying my destruction, let them find me hovering under the wings of your protection. O feare not! nor say what *Ananias* said, *I have heard by many of this man, how much evill he hath done to thy Saints*, but praise the work of the Lord in me, who hath opened now my eyes, who hath brought me now out of *Babylon*, who hath made me confesse my sins and iniquities with a sorrowfull and contrite heart. And as it pleased the Lord to shew *Saul*, as soon as he was converted how great things he should suffer for his names sake; even so be you confident, as I my selfam that this my calling & conversion is purely & meerly from above and from the Lord; from whom I have receiv'd this testimony, that he hath shewed me already how great things I must suffer for his names sake; for I must for him suffer many injuries and calumniations from the Papists, I must suffer the losse

of

of all my kinred, I muſt ſuffer the loſſe of that maintenance, which I was wont to receive from them, I muſt ſuffer want and poverty. But for whom? For the Lords ſake; for the teaching and preaching the preciſe rule of the Word of the Lord, for abjuring all *Popiſh* errors, for renouncing all ſuperſtitions, for abhorring all idolatries. Let theſe my ſufferings ſerve to your Honor and Worſhips for a true teſtimony of my converſion; let theſe my ſufferings remove from you all feares and jealouſies of my perſeverance, that thus with your favorable protectiō I may rejoyce in my calling, I may freely teach the pure Word of the Lord, I may oppoſe all *Antichriſtian* doctrin, and by my example may draw many wandring ſoules to the true Faith & Church of Chriſt. And I ſhall alwayes pray to the *Lord* to keep your Honor and Worſhips in grace, and that you may ſo rule & govern this City by your conſcionable and upright actions before God and men, that you may truly here be called zelotes of the Honour of the *Lord*, and afterwards you may have your ſeats above in the triumphant City of *Jeruſalem*.

Your Hon. and Wor. humble and faithfull ſervant, in the things of God, and Chriſt.

THOMAS GASSE.

To the Right Worshipfull Sir SAMUEL OWFIELD, A Worthy Member of the House of COMMONS, now assembled in PARLIAMENT.

SIR,

IF my boldnesse may reach so far upon your patience, I shall briefly touch what Iohn in the fift chap. of his Gospell writeth of a poole which was in Ierusalem called Bethesda: About this poole were wont to lye a great multitude of impotent folke, blind, lame, and withered, waiting for the moving of the water, which was done by an Angel, who went down at a certain time into the poole and troubled the water, and then whosoever stepped in, was cured of whatsoever disease he had. But one lying there 38 years, who in all this time could never be cured, because being of himselfe impotent (as he answered to our Saviour) he had no man, when the water was troubled, to help him or to put him into the poole. I will not stand to moralise this holy story unto you at large, least you might justly say that I abuse too much your patience, by confounding the stile of an Epistle, which ought to be brief, with the division, parts and order of a Sermon. Only I beg your patience so far as to peruse this my ensuing

Sermon, and in it you shall find an impotent man, not only blind, but deafe and dumbe, and cruelly bereaved by Satan, and by him expulsed out of the Church of Christ, and as I may truly say) lying in this misery neere 38 yeares. The discourse of my ensuing Sermon will informe You, that I my selfe have been this impotent man. Many times my Conscience hath been wounded and troubled for my aberrations from God and heavenly inspirations (which God hath been pleased to send into my soule) by my considered aberration from the true Church, for which the waters of my teares and inward sobs from my heart have been also moved with the troubles of my soule, so that I would many times full faine have stepped and entred into the true Church of England, where all diseases of the soule are most surely healed. But alas! mine own impotency and weaknesse joyned with my long blindnesse, hindred the execution of my good resolutions; temporall respects and feares kept back my steps. Many times I feared I should want a man and a friend (as the cripple at Bethesda did) to helpe me, to encourage me, and to further my good desires. I feared the high Assembly of Parliament would rather mistrust him, that so many years hath been an enemy to the State of this Kingdome, than now in these times approve his penitency and contrition, which might rather have seemed unto them a fained hypocrisie. All these feares kept back for a time the forwardnesse of my will and heart. Untill at last I resolved to disclose and discover unto Your Worship, these troubles of my heart, these diseases of my soule, even the want of a man to help me. God whom I sought too pleased, with my request; I found that assistance from you, that I so earnestly desired, for, I found a man, I found a friend, I found a comforter, I found an Advocate to plead for my pardon before that high Court now assembled. For by Your meanes I have been quietly brought into the Church; by Your meanes also, I hope, I shall be henceforth protected against all slanderers, who will whet their tongues against me and seeke to trouble me, and grudge at my good, as the Jews excepted against the Cripple and impotent man, who was cured by our Saviour. I shall always be ready to render due thankes to God, and

next

next to You, for Your blessed help towards my Conversion, and first fruits of my Vocation, which in this humble Work of mine, I have endeavoured to make knowne to the World, remitting my further expressions to better occasions. And in the meane time praying to God, that he will be pleased with his powerfull hand to supply to You, and Yours what my heart can wish, but never will be able to perform according to the full measure of so glorious a Worke, which truely next to God the beginner and Author of all goodnesse, by Your meanes hath been accomplished.

Your Worships humble
and ever obliged
servant in Christ

THOMAS GAGE.

BRITISH MUSEUM

The Tyranny of Satan, discovered by the teares of a converted Sinner,

In a Sermon Preached in *Pauls Church*, on the 28 of *August*, 1642.

LUKE 22. 31, 32.

And the Lord said, Simon, Simon, Behold Satan hath desired to have you, that he may sift you as wheat. But I have prayed for thee that thy Faith faile not. And when thou art Converted, strengthen thy Brethren.

DEarely Beloved; These words I have chosen to declare unto you this day, as most fit to lay open before your eyes my own most wretched estate (wherein I have continued almost 40 years) the tyranny of Satan over my miserable and afflicted soule, as also by the sight of so hideous a sinner, as I have been, and by the knowledge of the slavery wherein a sinner groanes under the power of the Devill, to terrifie you all that here are present from yeelding to his crafty and subtile assaults.

And secondly, to cherish and comfort all those that find themselvs seduced by this mortall enemy of all man kind, with the mercies of a most loving and mercifull Father above, who not desiring the eternall death and destruction of a sinner, but rather that he may turne from his wickednesse and live; when poorest we are and most in want, then doth he shew and discover unto us the riches of his mercy for his great love wherewith he loveth us, as *Paul* witnesseth in

the 2 to the *Ephes.* 3, 4 *ver.* When most dejected and comfortlesse we are, then doth he comfort us, and shew himselfe a God of Comfort; as also *Paul* doth teach us in the 2 *Cor.* 4. Who finally when he seeth us most in darknesse and in the night of sinne, than doth he dissolve those mists of blindnesse and ignorance from the eyes of our understanding, and shineth into our inward hearts, with the rayes and light of his Grace and mercy.

Blessed and praised be thy name, O Heavenly Father, that hast vouchsafed this day to lighten me in the horrid darknesse of my sins, that hast visited me in my Ægyptian slavery, and hast brought me out of that thraldome of Popery, into a land of Milke and Hony, abounding with the sweetnes of thy Grace and Mercies. Continue, O Lord, these thy favours towards me so, that I may by my Conversion be an example to all sinners to forsake their wickednesse, by laying open unto them this day two principall and essentiall points, to wit, the danger and horridnesse of sin, and thy unspeakable mercies, that thus I may perform what thou commandedst *Peter*; and that my selfe being converted, I may strengthen my Brethren, calling them from sin, and strongly settling them in the true, ancient, and Apostolique Faith.

Dearely Beloved, The first point which is to be observed in the words of my Text, is the tyranny, which the Devill practizeth over a Christian soule, contained in those words of Christ our Saviour spoken to *Peter*,

Behold Satan hath desired to have you, that he may sift you as wheat.

The desire of Satan is not any way to do us good, but all the mischiefe he can. As soon as he hath got us into his claws, he produceth (as far as lyeth in his power) Sentence of damnation against us, he prepareth us, and putteth us in readinesse for the fire of hell.

The first preparation which bee maketh for our soules to burne everlastaingly, is the same which shall happen unto every damned, and cursed soule at the day of the last and dreadfull Iudgment, when the Angels shall separate the wicked from the good, as Christ our Saviour foretold us by *S. Matthew*, in the 13 chap. in the Parable of the seed, in the 41 *ver.* saying, *The Son of man shall send forth his Angels, and they shall gather out of his Kingdome all things that offend and them which do iniquity.* As also in the same Chap. of *Matth.* we reade in the Parable of the net cast into the Sea, and gathering of every kind,

kind, which when it was full, they drew to ſhore, and ſate downe and gathered the good into veſſels, but caſt the bad away. *So* (ſaith our Saviour *verſe* 49) *ſhall it be at the end of the world; The Angels ſhall come forth, and ſever the wicked from the juſt, and ſhall caſt them into the furnace of fire.* Behold how the neareſt preparation for the fire of hell is the ſeparation of the wicked from the juſt.

And after this followeth immediatly that dreadfull ſentence of damnation, which ye ſhall find in *Matth.* 25.41. *Depart from me ye curſed into everlaſting fire, prepared for the Devill and his Angels.* If this be a horrid thing to conſider, and which ought to make our haire ſtand upright, and our fleſh to tremble; let not us laugh, but feare and tremble to fall into Satans hands, bearing out of the words of my Text, that his only deſire is to ſever us from the elect and godly, to prepare us for the finall ſentence of Iudgment, to make us ready for the curſe of God and everlaſting fire of hell. For what can more plainly be underſtood by theſe words of our Saviour to *Peter?*

Satan hath deſired to have you, that he may ſift you as wheat.

What doth the Husbandman, when he ſifteth his wheat, but with the help of the wind ſeparate the chaffe from the good grane? Even ſo the Devill ſtriveth and endeavoureth to ſift us as wheat; which is as much as to ſay, to ſeparate us from the Elect and choſen people of the Lord, from the good Laws of God, from the good and wholeſome Doctrine of the Church. This was the only endeavour of Satan the night of the Paſſion of our Lord, to ſever and ſeparate not only *Peter*, but the reſt of the diſciples from the company of their maſter like chaffe from the true grane: who ſaid of himſelfe, that he was the grane that was to be buried in the earth, that afterwards he might ſpring up again with great increaſe for all his Church. O if every Chriſtian ſoule would take this point to conſideration, how the Devill deſireth and endeavoureth to ſever us like chaffe, fit for nothing but for the fire, and for that dreadfull ſentence of damnation, *Depart from me ye curſed into everlaſting fire*; Doubtles we would feare to commit the ſins which daily we commit, doubtles we would tremble to yeeld to the power of ſuch a tyrant; doubtleſſe we would take no reſt in ſin as we do, if we did but conſider that by it we are become dry chaffe ſeparated from the heavenly grane our Saviour Chriſt, ſevered from all thoſe fruitfull granes and members of the Church, who ſtanding on the right hand ſhall through their fruit-

full Faith at last be laid up in that storehouse of everlasting blisse and felicity; when the sinner like chaffe already severed from the grane by the Devils endeavours, expecteth nothing but death to burn for ever.

In the 12 Chap. of *Judges* and *6 ver.* I have observed a pretty History for this purpose, where the Scripture speaking of a battaile fought betwixt the *Gileadites* and the *Ephraimites* saith, that the men of *Gilead* smote *Ephraim*, and put the *Ephraimites* to flight towards the river of *Jordan*, *And the Gileadites tooke the passages of Jordan before the Ephraimites; And it was so that when those Ephraimites which were escaped, said, Let me go over, that the men of Gilead said unto him, Art thou an Ephraimite? If he said Nay. Then said they unto him, say now Shibboleth; and he said Sibboleth; for he could not frame to pronounce it right; Then they tooke him and slew him at the passage of Jordan, and there fell at that time of the Ephraimites fourty and two thousand.*

Dearely Beloved, two things I would wish you to note in this History of Holy Scripture.

The first, that at the passages over *Jordan* these *Ephraimites* were examined who they were.

Secondly, that because they could not say *Shibboleth*, but instead of it they said *Srbboleth*, therefore they were slaine.

Shibboleth, according to the true translation signifieth *An eare of Corne*. And *Srbboleth* signifieth the chaffe or the straw that remaineth when the corne is separated from it. So that we find that the sword killed all such as could not say *Shibboleth* or *Eare of Corne*, but instead of it pronounced *Sibboleth*, *Straw or chaffe* separated from the corne.

O Christian and devout Soule, take out of this a lesson of morality, and judge thy selfe a rebellious *Ephraimite*, always warring against thy God and Maker. When thou sinnest, what doest thou but rebell against thy Creator? who at last will be too hard for thee. But when? When he shall meet thee at the passage over *Jordan*, that is, when as water thou shalt slide away. *Omnes morimur & quasi aqua dilabimur*, we do all dye, and like water slide and fall away. O what a day will that be, when thy Soule is to passe away from thy body? When thy Soule is to passe over from this world to the other yet never seen? O then shall meet thee the true *Gileadite*, against whom thou hast rebelliously fought with the Sword of Iu-

stice:

ſtiee in his hand; then ſhall begin thy tryall for thy life or death of thy Soule, then ſhalt thou be commanded to ſay *Shibboleth*, to ſay it truely thou beeſt an ear full of weighty and fruitfull grane of fruitfull Faith: But if thou canſt not ſay but *Sibboleth*, that thou art fruitleſſe, that thou art a light ſtraw, a little chaffe ſeparated from the true grane Chriſt Ieſus; then expect the wrath of God, expect the the bloud of his ſword of Iuſtice, expect if he find thee among the wicked ſeparated from the good, that this thy being ſifted, this diviſion and ſeparation of thee from the juſt and righteous ſhall be a fore-running meſſenger of that finall ſentence of damnation, *Depart from me you curſed into everlaſting fire.* God forbid that in this Congregation there be any ſuch chaffe, any ſuch dry ſtraw ſeparated from the fruitfull granes of the Church, and fit only for the flames of Hell. I hope, the Devill hath not ſo far prevailed with any. But of my ſelfe with ſhame (I may ſay) that I have been that rebellious *Ephraimite*, that have almoſt 40 years warred obſtinatly againſt my Lord and Maker. I am that wicked *Ephraimite*, not able to pronounce ſince my firſt uſe of reaſon this word *Shibboleth*, not able to ſay I had ever any fruitfull Faith, or have ever been a fruitful grane, but have always pronounced *Sibboleth*, have alwayes beene like bran ſifted from the white flower, like chaffe ſeparated from the grane, fit onely for the fire of Hell. For what fruitfull Faith could be in me, that inſtead of worſhipping only my God and Lord, have bowed my knee ſo often to worſhip for God a peece of bread, according to that damnable doctrine of the *Papiſts* (which now I abjure and renounce) who teach that in their Communion is no ſubſtance of bread or wine, but the true Reall and Phyſicall body and bloud of Chriſt? A thing ſo againſt Scripture, which teacheth that Chriſt ſince his glorious Aſcenſion can be no more upon the earth, much leſſe in ſeverall places and ſeverall peeces of bread, but that he muſt be in Heaven, untill that laſt Iudgment day, as ye ſhall find in the 3 Chap. of the *Acts* in the 20, 21 *verſ.* ſaying, *And hee ſhall ſend Jeſus Chriſt, which before was preached unto you, whom the heavens muſt receive untill the time of reſtitution of all things, which God hath ſpoken by the mouth of all his holy Prophets, ſince the World began.*

What fruitfull Faith could be in me, who ſo often have kneeled to Images, worſhipped them, burnt Franckincenſe before them, and praid unto them, ſo contrary to the Commandements of God? *Thou ſhalt not make unto thee any graven Image or any likeneſſe of*

any thing that is in Heaven above. Thou shalt not bow down unto them? So contrary, I say, to holy Scripture, which teacheth that no Saints are to be called upon, no Saints are to be Mediators betweene us and God, but only Iesus Christ, as ye shall find in the 1 Epistle of *Paul* to *Tim.* in the 2 Chap. and 5 verse, *For there is one God, and one Mediator betweene God and man, the Man Christ Jesus.*

What fruitfull Faith hath been in mee, who have believed and taught a Purgatory, a place of satisfaction for sins, derogating by this most damnable doctrin from the infinity of Christs satisfaction, who had not aboundantly nor infinitly satisfied for us, if we our selves ought in fire and torments to adde satisfaction to the satisfaction made by his most pretious bloud. O good God, how do I now perceive my self to have been sequestred from thy just and righteous beleevers! to have beene sequestred from thy true Apostolike and Primitive Church, to have been sifted like branne from the flower, like chaffe from the corne. O most mercifull Father, if in these 40 yeares, I had met with thee at the passage of *Jordan*, at the passage of my Soule from my body, not being able to say *Shibboleth*, what could I have expected but to feele the smart of thy sword, to receive the wound of everlasting death, to heare that dreadfull curse of thine, *Depart from me you cursed into everlasting fire?*

But think not, Dearely Beloved, that Satans cruelty is satisfied with thus separating a sinner like chaffe from the corne, by making him ready for Hell fire; O yet his cruelty goeth forward, yet he sifteth further a Soule. Though properly to sift in our English tongue, be to sift the flower from the branne; Yet this word *sifting*, in Greek is more Emphaticall, for the true word, σινιάσαι, in Greek, according to M. *Cameron's* explication, signifieth *Cribrare*, which as he saith, containeth two things, to wit, *illa concussio & agitatio*, that thrashing and beating of the wheat; and also *illa divisio & separatio*, that division and separation of the chaffe from the corne. So by Satan's sifting a Soule as wheat, we must know, that he is not contented to separate a Soule from the Church, and the fruitfull graines and members of it, yet his cruelty goeth forward, for he knoweth Gods mercies are great, and touch the soule of a sinner daily to bring him to repentance; therefore he desireth our perseverance in sin, our obstinacy and hardnesse, that we may no way return unto our Lord. He useth yet more tyranny over us by sifting us; he beateth us yet with blows, even as the corn is beaten with the flaile; with one blow hee

beateth

beateth out our eyes, that we may not see the hideous estate we are in. With another blow he striketh at our tongues, and breaketh the mouths of our hearts, that we may not call upon God for helpe and succour; with another blow he shuts up our eares, that we may not heare nor give eare to the truth when it is preached. Even as a Captaine when he besiegeth a Castle, taketh up al the high ways, whereby any maintenance or provision may come to those within the Castle; so doth this cruell enemy of mankind, when he hath separated a soule from the good and righteous, he shuts up all the high wayes, which are the mouth of the heart, the hearing of it, the eyes of the understanding, that so no maintenance, nor spirituall food may enter into it. This was figured in *Mark* 9. 17. 18. where it is said that one of the multitude brought unto our Saviour, his son which had a dumb spirit: And he said, *Wheresoever he taketh him, he teareth him, and he foameth, & gnasheth with his teeth and pineth away.* By this dumb Devill spiritually is to be understood the effect which the Devill worketh in a soule, which he hath once possessed, making it dumb and speechlesse, that it may not cry out to the Lord, nor acknowledge its sins with one *peccavi.* And many of the Fathers upon the explication of this dumbe Spirit, say that it was also deaf and blind, to signifie the two other effects, which the Devill worketh in a soule, which he hath once got into his power. This same destruction of a Soule according to the Fathers exposition was signified by that deaf and dumbe man, whom our Saviour cured, as ye may read *Mark* 7. 33, 34, 35. *And he took him aside from the multitude, and put his fingers into his eares, and he spit, and touched his tongue; And looking up to Heaven, he sighed, and saith unto him, ephphatha, that is, be opened. And strait way his eares were opened, & the string of his tongue was loosed, and he speake plaine.* In the 7 of *Dan.* 5 *ver.* you shall find a like figure of this cruell tyrant, where *Daniel* declaring a dreame and vision which he had, saith, *And behold another beast, a second like to a Beare, and it raised up it selfe on one side, and it had three ribs in the mouth between the teeth of it, And they said thus unto it, arise, devore much flesh.* Although S. *Hierom* by this ugly beast doth understand the Kingdom of the *Persians*, and by those 3 ribs and 3 set of teeth between rib and rib, expoundeth the 3 Empires of the *Babylonians*, *Persians* and *Medes*; Yet *Richardus de Sancto Victore*, and many Fathers in a spirituall sense, declare this ugly *Beare* to be a true portraicture of the malicious spite of the Devill, who with 3 set and orders of teeth devoureth and destroyeth the three noble powers, where-

wherewith the Soule doth ſpiritually ſpeake, ſee, and heare.

And truly in my mind, no Beaſt is a more proper Embleme of the Devill, than the *Beare*, if we conſider well what *Ariſtotle* in his 7 Book *De Hiſtor. Animal.* and 17 Chap. writeth of this beaſt, which is that he eateth of all things, of the fruits of trees, of herbes, of Bees and Honey, of little *Amits*, and their egs, yea of your ſhell fiſhes, and alſo of fleſh. A ſtrange quality, proper only to this Beaſt! For if the *Lyon* eat fleſh, he eateth not hay, graſſe nor hearbs; and the *Oxe* that eateth hay and graſſe eateth not fleſh, Only the *Beare* eateth of all ſorts, and with this quality reſembleth the Devill more than any other Beaſt. For the Devill devoureth and eateth of all; If a man be given to the fleſh, there is the Devill ſporting alſo himſelfe with thoſe fleſhy thoughts: If like an Eremite one feed of hearbes only; there alſo wil Satan be endeavoming in the wilderneſs to overthrow thoſe that hide themſelves there, flying from the vanities of the world, as he hath tempted and overthrown many ſuch. If one ſay, he is ſo abſtinent that he will not eat any fleſh, but feed only upon fiſh, as ſome Monkes and Fryars do amongſt your Papiſts; O how freely doth the Devill feed alſo with them, and for all their boaſting of their Abſtinence, blindeth them and maketh them commit moſt horrid and enormous ſins of the fleſh and Idolatry, as mine owne ſight and knowledge can teſtifie. If one like a little *Amit* in the earth, humble himſelf ſo deeply as to confeſſe and acknowledge himſelfe duſt and clay, and to conceipt moſt lowly of himſelfe; there alſo will Satan feed, untill he make him proud of his own low and humble conceipt. If like a Bee feeding upon the ſweetneſſe of Hony any one be in the Church feeding upon ſweetneſſe of Prayer and Contemplation, delighting with the ſweetneſſe of ſinging Prayſe and Pſalmes unto the Lord; there alſo will this *Beare* the Devill ſtrive to feed, untill he tempts with ſome fooliſh and idle thoughts. In all like a *Beare* feeding of all ſorts, and therefore may well be compared to that *Beare* which *Daniell* ſaw, riſing up to devoure much fleſh. And as that *Beare* had three ſet or ſorts of teeth to devoure the three Empires of the *Babylonians*, *Perſians* and *Medes*; even ſo hath the Devill three ſeverall ſorts of warlike engins to deſtroy and overthrow thoſe three Forts and Caſtles of our Soule, to wit, the Sight, Speach and Hearing, that ſo no reliefe may come from God to that wretched ſinner, whom he hath once poſſeſſed.

Firſt he maketh us dumb, that we may not open our mouths to con-

confeſſe and acknowledge before God the grievouſneſſe of our ſins, nor crie out for help with our hearts to our only Mediatour Ieſus Chriſt. Have not ye obſerved a *Wolfe*, when he hath ſeized upon a little *Lambe* and ſequeſtred it from the flock and Shepheard; how the firſt thing he doth, is to ſtrangle it in the throat, that it may not bale nor cry out and be reſcued by the Shepheard? Even ſo doth the Devill, when he hath got a Soule from the flock of Chriſt: the firſt thing he doth is to ſtrangle it, that it may not ſpeake, nor cry out to him that ſaid by S. *Iohn*, *Ego ſum Paſtor bonus*, I am the good Paſtor and Shepheard: For he knoweth there is no better way, no ſurer remedy for us, than to acknowledge and confeſſe to God our grievous ſins; as *David* ſaith in the 32 *Pſalme* and 6 verſe, *I ſaid, I will confeſſe my ſins unto the Lord*; *And ſo thou forgaveſt the wickedneſſe of my ſin.* He knoweth that God will have a ſinner accuſe himſelfe, confeſſe his ſins before him, and that this was one of the firſt leſſons that ever God taught in this world, as ye may obſerve in the third chapter of *Geneſis* and 9 verſe, where we read that when *Adam* had ſinned, God came down into Paradiſe, and called upon him, ſaying, *Where art thou?* Not that God was ignorant where *Adam* was, nor that *Adam* could hide himſelfe from the ſight of God: But God called him and asked him, where he was, becauſe he would have *Adam* accuſe himſelf, confeſſe and acknowledge his nakedneſſe, and the ſin he had fallen into; for to teach all wretched and miſerable ſinners to confeſſe and acknowledge their ſins and miſeries before their Lord.

O this Satan knoweth to be the chiefe remedy, the beaſt eaſe for an afflicted ſoule! therefore hee ſtriketh his firſt blow at the mouth of the heart, that there may found no act of repentance, nor the ſinner may have a tongue to confeſſe and acknowledge himſelfe to have wickedly offended his Lord and Maker.

O the Devill knoweth that nothing endangereth more a Soule in ſin than dumbneſſe and ſilence! as *David* alſo teſtifieth in the ſame 32 *Pſalme* and 3 verſe, ſaying, *For while I held my tongue, my bones conſumed away.*

O how doth a ſinner pine and conſume away for want of crying out to the Lord, for want of acknowledging his own wretched eſtate!

O Dearely Beloved, make uſe of this Doctrine, and whenſoever ye find your ſelves to have been carried away by Satan, forget not

your tongues, be not dumbe, acknowledge presently your iniquities before the Lord, touch with your tongues the leper and sores of your soules, let not them fester for want of a tongue to heale them. Remember when ye are in sin, ye are as the Psalmist saith, like Beasts without reason.

O shew at least to have that small sense and reason, which many Beasts and a Dog hath, who when he is bitten and full of soares, with his tongue only preserveth his soares from festering. Even so do thou poore and wretched sinner, when thy soule is bitten with the first set of teeth of this cruell *Beare*, lift up thy heart unto thy Lord, acknowledge and confesse thy sins before him, with thy tongue preserve thy soule from inward festering. Remember that God will have thee confesse thy iniquity and aske pardon of him. Be not therefore dumbe, O sinner I (if any there be besides my selfe in this Congregation) say with *David*, *I will confesse my sinnes unto the Lord*; Cry out with the prodigall son in the 15 Chapter of *Luke* and 18. Verse, *Father I have sinned against Heaven, and before thee.* Remember thou hast a Heavenly Shepheard above, Iesus Christ: Bale and cry out unto him like the little Lambe, that is set upon by the ravenous Wolfe. Be sure thou beest not mute nor dumbe: be sure the Devill take not from thee the use of thy tongue.

O a man that is fallen into a deep water, hath hopes of life if the water reach but to his knees, or to his breast, or to his shoulders; but if once it reach to enter into his mouth to choke him, eminent is the danger he is in. Even so if a sinner be plunged and drowned so deepely into the depth of sin, that it hath reached to his mouth, that it once hinder his tongue from confessing his wickednesse, and from crying out to God; great danger is he in. Feare this danger, O Beloved; feare that the mouth of your hearts be not stopped by Satan, that by this high way which leadeth to the inward Castle of your Soule, all Ammunition, all helpe and succour from above bee not stopped and robbed for want of acknowledging your sins, and crying out unto your Lord for present aide and relief. And so much for this.

The second blow which the Devill striketh at a sinner, is to beat out his eyes and to blind him, that he may not see the danger he is in, nor his own wretched and miserable estate, as *David* affirmeth in the 38 *Psal.* and 10. *verse*, saying, *My heart panteth, my strength hath failed me, and the light of mine eyes, is gone from me.*

And

And again in the 40 *Pſalme* and 15 *verſe* he ſaith, *Innumerable troubles are come about me; my ſinnes have taken ſuch hold upon me, that I am not able to look up.* O the Devill knoweth very well, that if a ſinner did but ſee the miſerable and wretched eſtate his ſoule is in, he would make haſt to returne unto his Lord; therefore he blindeth him that he may run head-long down to Hell. He dealeth with a ſinner as cruelly as *Nabuchadnezzar* King of *Babell* dealt with *Zedekiah*, as ye may read in the 2 of *Kings*, 25 *Chapter* and 7 *verſe*, *And they ſlew the ſons of Zedekiah before his eyes, and put out the eyes of Zedekiah, and bound him in chaines and carried him to Babell.* Even ſo doth the Devill with a ſinner, he beateth out his eyes, bindeth him in chaines, and ſo carrieth him to *Babell*, to a Chaos of confuſion.

This a ſinner will not beleeve, but runs forward with more and more delight in his iniquities; he thinkes, becauſe he enjoyeth his corporall ſight, that his ſoule is not blinded. Tell me then, if a man ſhould be in ſo deſperate a caſe, as running a long a ſtreet, and all crying out unto him and ſaying, O man art thou mad, doeſt thou not ſee ſuch an one thine enemy ſtanding before thee with his ſword drawn to kill thee? If nevertheleſſe and for all theſe cries, this man ſhould run towards the ſword; would not we ſay that he is mad, or rather blind and not able to ſee the ſword before him?

O Dearely Beloved; this is no ſporting matter; when we offend the Lord, we are ſurely blind; If we were not, how would we dare to runne upon the ſword which the Iuſtice of God hath drawn againſt us? If we will not believe this, let us but turne to the 7 *Pſalme of David*, and read there the 12, 13, and 14 *verſes*, where we ſhall find theſe words, *God is a righteous Judge, ſtrong and patient, and God is provoked every day; If a man will not turne, he will whet his ſword, he hath bent his bow, and made it ready; he hath prepared for him the inſtruments of death.* Behold a ſword a whetting for us to run us thorow, a bow bent to ſhoot at us, other inſtruments prepared only for our death and deſtruction. And yet we will not ſee them, we run upon them: Why? Becauſe wee are blind, the Devill hath deprived us of our ſpirituall ſight: We are like that wicked and diſobedient Prophet *Balaam*, of whom we read in the 22 *Chapter of Numbers* and 23 *Verſe*, that he was ſo blind that he could not ſee the Angell of the Lord ſtanding in his way with a Sword drawn in his hand; the words are theſe, *And when the*

Asse saw the Angel of the Lord stand in the way, and his sword drawne in his hand, the Asse turned out of the way, and went into the field, but Balaam smote the Asse to turne her into the way. Lo here, how a simple and silly Asse by Gods permission, espyeth the sword of the Lord drawn against a sinner and wicked Priest, to teach us, how those that are simple and humble in their own conceipts, see the dangers that a sinner runs into by sin: But the proud and stubborne Delinquent against Gods Laws, will not see these dangers. Because alas he is blind, the Devill hath pulled out the eyes of his Soule, the windows whereby the light and beames of Gods mercy were wont to shine into his heart, are now rammed up with lime and stone, that no light may come in for a sinner to see those horrid Aspids, Basilisks and Adders, which lye lurking and taking their repose in the close and secret chamber of his Conscience.

O Pity! O Compassion! If any be to be had, when a sinner is come to this misery. O Dearely Beloved, make good use of this Doctrine, and fly from sin all your lives; feare to be thus blinded: Pray to the Lord, that though through mans frailty ye do commit a sin: O yet your sight may be left ye: One eye at least may remaine to lift up to God, to look up to him.

Remember how that poore and lame cripple, of whom we read in the 3 *Chapter* of the *Acts*, and 4 *Verse*, received bodily health and strength, having no limbe to help himselfe, but was daily carried and laid at the gate of the Temple; *And Peter fastning his eyes upon him with John, said, looke on us.* Nothing was demanded of him but only the use of his eyes; for looking only up upon *Peter* hee was cured.

O Deare Soule, Moralize this healing of this Cripple and the manner of it, and take out of it a lesson how to obtaine more easily the health of thy diseased soule. If with no limbe thou beest able to helpe thy selfe: Looke up at least to God, lift up the eyes of thy heart to thy Lord, pray dayly to him that thy sight may not faile in thy inward man; Pray that the Devill may not blind thee howsoever, but that thou mayest see the enormity and hideousnesse of thy sin, the instruments of death which God hath prepared against thee, the Sword of his Iustice drawn, the Bow of his wrath and anger bent; that thus having eyes left thee to see those dangers, thou mayest like this Cripple, as he looked up to *Peter* and *John*, and received bodily health: so thou also by casting an eye up to the Lord, by opening the

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the window of thy heart mayest let in the light of Gods mercy to shine within thee, and mayest receive the spirituall health of thy leprous and diseased soule. And so much for this.

The last and deadliest blow, which the Devill with his heavy flayle striketh at a Soule, is in the Eares, wherewith hee fells him quite down and layes him flat to the ground, taking his hearing quite from him, and making him deafe, that hee may not heare the word of the Lord, nor hearken to any comfortable tydings of his Salvation.

Of the wretched sinners deafenes against the Word of God, *Paul* spoke in the second Epistle to *Timothy* in the 4 *Chapter* and 4 *verse*, saying, *And they shall turne away their eares from the truth and shall be turned unto fables*. Of this sort of sinners, an Ancient Father, *Clement Alexandrinus* in his exhortation to the Greekes and Gentiles speaketh thus, *Cœlum fecisti is Scenam, & Deus factus est vobis Actus*: Ye have made a sport and play of Heaven, and God himself is become ar Act or Comedy unto ye.

But you will say, Dearely Beloved, what meaneth this ancient Author by these words? An example will declare his mind better. Have not you marked in these Playes here about the City? How sometimes one commeth out upon the Stage, with a Crowne and Kingly Diadem upon his head, and with a Scepter in his hand, granting Princely favours, and highly rewarding those that have been dutiful and loyall Subjects unto him? Another you shall see come out upon the same Stage with a sword drawn, all bloudy, with streams of bloud trickling down from his head to his feet, as if he had been wounded in some fierce and desperate combate. Then you shal see sometimes over the Stage the Heavens open, great glory of Angels appearing, and one descending in a cloud. Somtimes you shall see from under the Stage ascend a smoak of Fire and Brimstone, and a Devill leap up in such a shape as may suffice to terrifie you. At all this you laugh, you hold it but a fable. The King you see come out, you respect not; because you know he is none. The other that is wounded and all bloudy, you pity not, because you know that bloud is not true but painted bloud. The glory you see and the Angels in it, do no way entice you to it; because you know it is but fained: The Fire and Brimstone, and ugly sight of Devils that come upon the stage do nothing terrifie you. Why? Because you know all is false, that there is no Hell, nor any true Devill, but only a represen-

tation of it: So that you ſport and laugh at all.

Now then let us apply theſe words and this ſimilitude of *Clement Alexandrinus* to thoſe deafe ſinners, who, as *Paul* ſaith, Turn away their eares from the truth, and are turned unto Fables. Theſe when they come to heare the word of the Lord, will not heare it with their hearts, but make a play ſport of it. When they heare the Preacher ſet forth the might and power of that King of Kings, and Creator of all things, who will glorifie his elect ſervants with everlaſting bliſſe and happineſſe; Like Atheiſts they laugh at it, and iudge of this eternall King as of a King in a play.

When they heare the Preacher teach, how Ieſus Chriſt was whipped, reviled, ſtroken, ſmitten and crowned with thornes, nayled with nailes, piereed with a ſpeare for their ſins; their hearts will not heare it, they make ſport of it, they are not moved to love ſo loving a Saviour and Mediator who with the price of his own bloud, made an aboundant and copious ſatisfaction for our ſins.

When they heare the Preacher teach the glory of Heaven, the Quires of Angels there, that everlaſting reſt without any ſob or teares, without any cold, hunger, or thirſt, they will not heare it to beleeve, they judge of it, as of the glory in a play upon a Stage, and like Epicureans eate, drink and riot ſaying,

——*Poſt mortem nulla voluptas.*

They think that their ſoules after death like Beaſts ſhall be diſſolved into the aire to nothing. When they heare a Preacher bring out upon the Stage in the Pulpit, and ſet before a great aſſembly the deepe pits of Hell, the Legions of fierce and cruell Divels there, the always burning fire and Brimſtone, the everlaſting broiling there, the horrid gnaſhing of teeth, the paines and torments due to their ſins, if they turne not to God; Alas they will not heare it with their heart, they thinke it is but a Hell of a Play, they are turned unto Fables, they make a ſport of all, they make an Act or Play of God, they think all fained, they heare it with their corporall eares, but with the eares of their ſoule, they will not hearken unto it; they make themſelves the Actors of the fooles part in this ſport and play, which they make of God and Heaven. Why? Becauſe the Devill hath made them deafe. This is his chiefe way, he knoweth, though it be damb or blind, yet by hearing the Word of the Lord with a well diſpoſed heart

heart it may receive ſome ſeed of a fruitfull Faith, as S. *Paul* taught the *Romanes* in the 10 *Chap.* and 17 *Verſ.* ſaying, *So then Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the Word of God.* This is the Devils feare, and therefore he ſhutteth up their eares, that no maintenance that way, no ſuccour, no reliefe may come unto the ſoule. With this he maketh them groan under his yoke, with this he maketh them ſlaves unto him. In *Deut.* 15.12. you ſhall find that God gave a Command of releaſe, ſaying, *And if thy Brother, an Hebrew man, or an Hebrew woman be ſold unto thee, and ſerve thee ſix yeares, then in the ſeventh yeare thou ſhalt let him go free from thee.* And lower 16,17.*v.* God commanded thus; *And it ſhall be, if he ſay unto thee, I will not go away from thee, becauſe he loveth thee and thine houſe, becauſe he is well with thee. Then ſhalt thou take an Aule, and thruſt it thorough his eare unto the doore, and he ſhall be thy ſervant for ever.*

In a morall and ſpirituall ſenſe, Learn here, Deare Brethren, how as God commanded a releaſe for debts and for ſervants, ſo doubtleſſe he expecteth that thy Soule ſhall not be always under any other maſter but himſelf. If therfore the Devill have been thy Maſter for ſome time, thinke for a releaſe, think of releaſing thy ſelf from him; do not ſay, deare ſoule, unto the Devill, I will not go away from thee, becauſe I love thee, becauſe I am well with thee; which if thou doeſt, then will Satan make uſe of this Law of God for himſelfe and for his own ends; then will he marke thee in the eares for a perpetuall ſlave, with an Aule he will boare thine eares thorow, and faſten them to a wall, to that wall which thy iniquities have put between thee and God; he will keep thee for his ſlave, if ever he marke thee in thy eares, he will take thy hearing from thee, that thou mayeſt not heare any goodneſſe, nor make good uſe of any. O what miſery is a ſinner in, when he commeth to loſe his hearing! Abhorre from ſin, dearely beloved, leaſt ye fall thus into ſlavery under the tyranny of Satan; if ye have not found your ſelves ſo far gone, nor ſo far enſnared by the Devill, as he doth enſnare others, renounce him at his firſt aſſaults, leaſt he encroach upon the mouth of your heart and ſoule, upon the eyes and eares of it, making yee dumb, deaf and blind. O take example by me, who have had experience of theſe 3 blows, who have been flailed, beaten and thraſhed by this cruell enemy; with one blow I have been left ſpeechleſſe and dumb almoſt 40 years; I have not had a tongue till this day, to confeſſe before God my iniquities, my idolatries, my ſuperſtitions, my diſloyalties to my King, the

Lords

Lords Annoynted. O I have been blind, & wilfully blind, and would not ſee my errors, the errors of the *Whore of Babylon*. True it is, many years ago by reading Authors and the grounds of our true Proteſtant Religion; I did ſee the light of it, the truth of it, the ſincere, pure and candid doctrine of it: but yet with the eyes of my Soule I would not ſee it. I was like a foule and ugly Monky, who when he chanceth to ſee his foule ſhape, his deformed feet in a pure and Criſtall Looking-glaſſe, rageth, and flingeth at the glaſſe and teareth it in pieces, becauſe it repreſentes unto him his own deformity. Even ſo have I done, dearely Beloved, theſe many yeares. When I read the pure and Chriſtall doctrine of our Church, which teacheth even what Chriſt taught *Peter* and his Diſciples to acknowledge a Supremacy next to God to *Caſar*, by taking mony out of a fiſhes belly, and ſending it for tribute to *Caſar*, a leſſon for all Subjects (yea for the *Popes* themſelves who can be no better than Chriſt and *Peter*) to acknowledge their duty and Allegiance next to God unto their Kings, and Princes. But when I ſaw by this cleare doctrine my ugly ſhape of a diſloyall, diſobedient and treacherous monſter, nouriſhed with the venemous and poyſoned milk of the *Whore of Babylon*, which teacheth her *Popes* to be above all Temporall Princes, and no wayes bound to pay them tribute; O how would I fly and fling like a Monky at the Chriſtall glaſſe of the *Proteſtant* doctrin, that thus repreſented unto me mine own monſtrous ſhape. O when I uſed to read & ſtudy the grounds of the Popiſh Tranſubſtantiation, and found them groundleſſe, ſaying, that one body may be in 2 places, nay in a 1000, And upon that falſe ground proving that Chriſts body may be really preſent in the Sacrament in a thouſand places at one time, & at the ſame time alſo in Heaven: How clearely did I ſee the contrary in the Chriſtall glaſſe of our Churches doctrine? For if Chriſts body being a naturall and phyſicall body can be at one time in ſeverall places; then at one time alſo it may be ſubject to ſeverall and contrary accidents, it may bee hot and cold at once, for it may bee in a hot and cold place at one time, it may bee alſo ſtabbed in one place (as the *Papiſts* confeſſe it hath been by *Jews*) and in another place at the ſame time it may not be ſtabbed; ſo then 2 contradictories *ſimul & ſemel* are true, and truly verified of the ſame body, It is ſtabbed and it is not ſtabbed. Alſo in one place it may bee be gnawn and devoured by vermin, mice or worms: and in another place at the ſame time it may not be gnawn: As my ſelf can witnes,

who

who laying Masse one day in the *West Indies*, in a town called *Portabel*, 6 years ago, after I had consecrated the Bread or Wafer host upon the Altar, making a short mentall prayer with mine eyes shut, which they call *the Memento for the Dead*, suddainly came upon the Altar a Mouse, and stole away the Sacrament. I opening mine eyes, and missing it before me, began to be troubled, and looking about on one side, I saw the vermin running away with the Bread. I stirred up the people of the Church, who running to me caused candles to be lighted, and with another Priest searched all the holes that were in the wall behind the Altar, and at last found the Sacrament gnawn, and halfe eaten up. The halfe part of it the Priest tooke out and carrying it to the Altar in Procession, lifted it up to be adored, with knocking of breasts by the common people. Behold here according to the damnable doctrin of the *Papists*, Christ's body is gnawn by a creature, and it is not gnawn; for they say that the body of Christ is truly and really *totus in toto & totus in qualibet parte*, all in all, and all and whole in every little part. Then if this be true, Christ was whole and entire in that part which was devoured, and he was also whole and entire in the part which was left; so he was eaten and gnawne, and he was not eaten and gnawne. Here are two contradictories truly verified at one time against the light of reason and philosophy: Besides the absurdity which followeth, that Christ should leave his body to be so devoured by vermin and dumb beasts. All these absurdities and monstruous shapes of *Popish* doctrin, I well perceived and viewed in the pure christall glasse of our *Protestant* doctrin: And yet like a beast I would fling at this cleere glasse, that thus represented my *Popish* errours unto me; I would spitefully oppose the true sense and figurative meaning of our Saviour, when he said, *This is my body*.

Yea comming into *England* with a purpose to conforme my selfe to the truth, & having met here with a learned Treatise of one Master *Stephen Vassall* against this damnable doctrin of Transubstantiation, which he directed to one Mistris *Bury* a Gentlewoman, seduced and blinded by a *Popish Priest*, I took upon me for some worldly and temporall respects to some friends, to answer his learned grounds and reasons against mine own conscience: And though in his cleare doctrine I well perceived the ugly and monstruous shape of mine own idolatrous and defiled soule; Yet did I fling and fly at the glasse like a Monky. Why? Because I was blinded by Satan, the window of my soule was rammed up by the Devil, that no light might enter in-

to it. I have been that falſe and diſobedient Prieſt *Balaam*, ſo blind that I would not ſee the dangers of my ſoule neere 40 yeares: But though the ſword of Gods Iuſtice hath beene drawne againſt me, though his bow hath been bent to kill me, and many inſtruments of death prepared againſt me, yet would I wilfully run on my ways to curſe the good and elect People of the Lord, to oppoſe the true, ancient and Apoſtolike Church of *England*. True it is I have heard much good doctrin preached, repreſenting unto me theſe dangers which my ſoule was in; I have heard that if wilfully, I ſhould have died in that wretched eſtate, my ſoule would have been plunged into the deepeſt and bottomleſſe pits of Hell; I have heard much preaching of the mercies of God, of the glory of Heaven, of the paines of Hell: Yet all this I have heard as a Play and ſport of paſtime, not hearing it with my ſoule inwardly, but only with my outward eares. I have heard that for God we muſt leave all in the world, both kindred, father, mother, preferments and wealth: yet I would not heare this to any purpoſe: I was loath to forſake all my kinred, who are Papiſts: I was loath to forſake that meanes which I have had from them, and now muſt leſe it: I was loath to ſee my ſelfe in want and poverty. O I knew, my kinred and beſt friends would cry out, ſhame upon me, and would threaten to kill me: All theſe worldly and temporall reſpects ſhut up my eares and made me deafe againſt the truth, which teacheth that it is better to live here in want and poverty, than to broyle for ever in Hell: that it is better to forſake here and abandon all fleſh and blood, Brothers, Siſters, and Kinred, than to go with them to everlaſting paines and torment.

Chriſt himſelfe teacheth us that we muſt not feare them that can hurt our bodies, but can do no harme at all unto our ſoules, and that we muſt feare only him that can caſt our ſoules into the fire of Hell. This it is, O Lord! which now maketh me feare; thy might, thy power and wrath I feare: My ſoule it is that hereafter I will tender; for this Iewell I forſake this day all the world, for my Soule's ſake I take my leave this day of all my kinred and deareſt friends. Awake, awake my ſoule, and like *Abraham* leave now thy fleſh and bloud, that thou mayſt become rich and great in the ſight of thy Lord. Away all feares, away all humane and temporall reſpects, away ſo much love of worldly pelfe.

O Lord! for thy ſake I hate and leave this day that meanes, which hitherto from Papiſts I have received.

O,

O Lord! I know they threaten my destruction, but into thy hands do I this day commend my spirit. O let that be safe! though here my body be mangled and torne into thousand pieces, do thou protect me, and I will feare no enemies; do thou continue thy mercies to me, and I with *David* will sing and teach them for ever.

Now, dearely Beloved, I have disclosed unto you the miseries of a wretched sinner, the cruelty and unsatiable tyranny of Satan over those that he sifts away from the fruitfull granes of Christ's Church: I have discovered unto you the heavy blows he giveth them, and have made my self a President of so miserable and wretched an estate. Now give eare, I beseech you, to the second point of my Text, where Christ having told *Peter*, how Satan desired to have him, that he might sift him as wheat, Christ comforted him presently, saying,

But I have prayed for thee that thy faith faile not:

For to teach us, that though we be never so tyrannized by Satan, never so abused and beaten, never so dumb, so blind and so deafe; Yet the mercies of God are able to relieve us: And God himself would not be mercifull and omnipotent, if any miseries of ours, (how great soever) should prevaile or exceed the power of his mercies: Nay when by sin we are most wretched and most forlorn, then doth God shew most the power of his sweet and comfortable mercies, and forgetteth not 40 only, but an 000 yeares ill spent in sin and iniquity, as *David* teacheth us, *Psalm.* 90. 3, 4. saying, *Thou turnest man to destruction, Again thou sayest, Come again ye children of men, for a thousand yeares in thy sight are but as yesterday.* Behold, though a man be turned to destruction, though a soule be quite lost, utterly defaced and spoyled: Yet *Come again ye children of men*, Let but these destroyed and forlorne soules turne again unto the Lord, and a thousand yeares ill spent in sinnes and iniquities shall bee pardoned so easily, that they shall seeme but as one day ill spent; for God is mercifull and will make the least that may bee made of our sinnes, if from our hearts wee turn unto him. Nay when most we offend him, then chiefly doth he strive with his mercies to allure us unto him. By the greatnesse of his mercies he striveth to shew himselfe our God and Saviour, as I have observed in that answer which he sent unto *John* in the 11 of *Mat.* where *John* sent two of his Disciples to know of him, if he were the *Messias* and Saviour of the world whom they expected; To which message our Saviour made no other answer, but that of the 5 verse, saying, *The blind re-*

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eaters their sight, and the lame walke, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf heare, the dead are raised up, and the poore have the Gospel preached unto them. The only way to know that Christ is a Saviour, is by seeing his works of mercy, either Spirituall or Corporall; for by the blind which he corporally and spiritually cureth, by the leprous soules and bodies which he cleanseth, by the deaf to whom he restoreth corporall and spirituall hearing, by the dead in soule and body whom he raiseth up; he is sufficiently known to be a true *Messias*, a true Saviour, a most loving and mercifull Father. And much more by using these mercies, when least we deserve them, when furthest we are from him, when most grievously we offend him; for then it is that he striveth with the power of his mercy, to prevaile against the power of Satan. In the 12 *Chap.* of *Matth.* 14. & 15 *verses*, this may easily be observed, where it is said; *Then the Pharisees went out, and held a Counsell against him, how they might destroy him.* Behold here wretched sinners, the instruments of the Devill, united and confederate against our Saviour. What doth he unto them? Doth he destroy them? Doth he poure down fiery darts upon them? No. What then doth he? Read forward the 15 *verse*, and ye shall see what he doth, *And when Jesus knew it, he withdrew himselfe from thence, and great multitudes followed him, and he healed them all.* When most they strive against him to offend him, then doth he cure and heale their infirmities; for to teach us that he is so mercifull a Father, that he holdeth it a disparagement to his great goodnesse, that our wickednesse should be greater than his mercies; that when most we offend him, than doth he most mercifully cure and heale the lepers and diseases of our afflicted soules. So in the 32 of *Exodus*, you shall find the mercies of God striving with the wickednesse of men; for whilest the *Israelites* withdraw themselves from God at the foot of the mountain, worshiping a golden Calfe, God on the top of the mountaine is ordering a Law for them to bring them to righteousnesse and to the port of true Salvation. In the 9 *Chap.* of the *Acts* there also ye shall find a strong encounter between the malice of a wicked sinner and the kindnesse and mercy of God; for whilest *Saul* breathing out threatnings and slaughter against the Disciples of the Lord goeth to the high Priest and desireth of him letters to *Damascus* to the Synagogues, that if he found any followers of Christ, men or women, he might bring them bound unto *Jerusalem*. Then at that very time strives God with his mercies for the upper hand, as you

may

may read in the 3 verse, *And suddainely there shined round about him a light from heaven.* And Gods mercies prevailing against *Sauls* stubbornes from a wicked sinner, from a wicked Persecutor he was made an Apostle, and a chosen vessell to beare the name of the Lord before the Gentiles, the Kings, and the Children of Israel. O how doth the Prophet *Hosea* in the 2 *Chap.* of his Prophecies in the 13 and 14 *ver.* teach the truth of this doctrin? saying, *And I will visite upon her the dayes of Baalim, wherein she burnt incense to them, and she decked her self with her earrings and her jewels, and she went after her lovers, and forgate me, saith the Lord.* Behold here a Harlot, a soule most abominable, given to idolatry, burning incense before her Idols, following her pleasures, the vanities of the world, decking and trimming up her self to entice and allure her gallants, following her gallants and lovers, and quite forgetting her Lord and God. But what will God do now with this lewd harlot, with this abominable soule? Will he destroy her? Will he shew the strength and power of his justice against her? O no! Heare what followeth in the 14 verse, *Therefore, Behold, I will allure her, and bring her into the wildernesse and speak comfortably unto her.* She shall not thinke that her wickednesse can be greater than my mercies: When she most flies from me, then will I most allure her. Behold here, dearely Beloved, the good nature of our good God, who like unto a faire and wooer, when his mistris most disdaineth him, wooeth her more, allureth her with faire and courteous promises. Even so doth God with a Soule, when we follow most the vices of our heart, the vanities of the world, seeking to please our senses and bellies, more than the Lord, disdaining and contemning our God and Maker; then doth he wooe our Soules, then doth he allure them, then doth he bring them into the wildernesse from all occasions of pride, of self-love, of vanities and pastimes: There when he hath got them from the worldly pleasures, doth he speak comfortably unto them. O Soule! saith he, why dost thou follow any lovers but me? there is none loveth thee better than my self: I have bestowed more upon thee than any adulterous lover of thine. The beauty of thy face which thou so much esteemest, is my guift. The daintyes of fowle and fish, which so voluptuously thou bestowest upon thy belly, I first bestowed them upon thee. The riches of pearles, rubies, rings and diamonds, wherewith thou shewest thy self to faire an object to thy lovers eye, are all my gifts. The flowers of all sorts and best perfumes, wherewith thou delightest so much thy senses, I gave them to thee. Why then deare Soule, dost

thou turne from me? Why dost thou shun me for other lovers? They carry thee to perdition, but I to blisse and happinesse: They seek thy paines and torment, I thy rest and glory: They fall away like a flower which to day is, and to morrow will not be, but I shall remaine for ever.

Thus, O dearly Beloved, doth God speake comfortably to a Soule: thus doth he allure her, thus doth he woo and entice her, thus doth he, when furthest she flys from him, discover the riches of his mercies to her. An ancient Doctor called *Iohn Raulinus Cluniacensis* saith, what by experience we daily know, *Quanto magis frigus viget, tanto magis videtur Cœlum stellatum, The greater the frost and cold is, the more bright do the starrs appeare and shew themselves in the darkenesse of the night. Lauretus*, who borrowed his doctrine out of *Thomas Aquinas* and *Austin*, saith also of the starrs in a morall explication, *Stellæ producte in Cœlo designare possunt dona Spiritus Sancti; That they may be a symbole or figure of the favours and guifts of the Holy Ghost.* What then meaneth it that these starrs which are symbols of Gods favours, shine brightest, when the frost and cold is greatest? O it signifieth, that when a heart is most cold and frozen, most voyd of the heat of the love of God, then doth the Lord strive to shine brightest into that heart, than doth he most discover the glittering spangles of his mercy, than doth he manifest the glorious starrs of his Heavenly comforts; for to teach us that none shall despaire, though never so deeply plunged into sin, though never so cruelly tyrannized by the Devill: for God with his mercies can and often hath changed a wicked sinner to a holy life, and of a persecutor and enemy hath made a holy Apostle. I cannot here passe over with silence a witty observation of *Chrysostome* upon those words, which the Angell of the Lord spoke to *Joseph*, *Mat.* 2. 13. saying, *Arise and take the young childe and his mother, and fly into Egypt, and be thou there, untill I bring thee word; for Herod will seeke the young Childe to destroy him.* Upon these words, *Chrysostome* groundeth great admirations, wondring that God would send his only begotten Son into Ægypt, a Countrey that above all Countreys misused and kept under hard slavery Gods own chosen people, not suffering them to go out, till God hardned *Pharaoh's* heart, and *Moses* after many wonders shewed with the hand of the Lord, tooke them out of bondage. Now then if this Countrey was first so rebellious against God himself and his Commands, how commeth it to passe, saith *Chrysostome*, that God will

will truſt his Deare and only Son Jeſus Chriſt with ſo perfidious and diſobedient a Nation? Could not there be Order given, that Chriſt might bee kept from the fury of *Herod*, in any other Countrey and not in *Ægypt*, ſo ſtubborne an enemy to God and his Elect People? *Chryſoſtome* anſwereth, *O commutatio dextræ excelſi, ut populus qui antefuerat perſecutor populi primogeniti, poſtea ſieret cuſtos unigeniti!* O wonderfull change and alteration of the right hand of the Lord, ſaith *Chryſoſtome*, that that people which before had been a perſecutor and enemy of the firſt choſen People of God, now ſhould be truſted with Gods only Son, and ſhould be made keeper of him to defend him and protect him from the wicked plots of *Herod*! What is this? But to magnifie and ſet out the great mercies of God, who ſo ſtrangely worketh alterations in Nations and in particular ſoules, making thoſe his deareſt friends, which were his greateſt enemies and perſecutors. This is the power of the mercy of God, which can prevaile againſt all the ſtrength of Satan, who can deliver a ſoule poſſeſſed by the Devill and bring it to a ſtate more happy than ever miſerable it was in Satans power. This the Prophet *Micah* propheciſed in the 4 *Chap.* of his Propheceies, and 10 *ver.* ſaying, *Be in pain and labour to bring forth, O daughter of Sion! like a woman in travell; for now ſhalt thou go forth out of the City, and thou ſhalt dwell in the field, & thou ſhalt go even to Babylon; there ſhalt thou bee delivered, there the Lord ſhall redeeme thee from the hand of thine enemies.* What greater confuſion was there ever than in *Babylon*? What greater blindneſſe than there? What greater or crueller ſlavery than there? Yet ſaith *Micah, there ſhalt thou bee delivered, there the Lord ſhall redeeme thee from thine enemies*; for to teach us, that there is no ſinner ſo deeply drowned into the depth of ſin, ſo bitterly beaten by Satan, ſo hardly captivated and bound with the bonds and fetters of his iniquities, but yet the mercy of the Lord is able to take him out. Therefore, O dearely beloved! make uſe of this doctrin & never deſpaire of Gods favours, though (as Chriſt ſaid in my text to *Peter*) Satan ſift you as wheat, ſeparating you from the white flower of the elect and choſen people; though he ſeparate you like chaffe from the corne, from the fruitfull graines and members of the Church, by beating you as Corne is beaten with the flaile, by ſtriking out your eyes, that you may not ſee, by making you dumb, that you may not ſpeake nor cry unto the Lord; by making you deaf, that you may not heare any good neſſe: yet deſpaire not of his mercies; for out of *Babylon*, the

place

place of greatest confusion, there shalt thou be delivered, saith the Lord. Let my Conversion be a President to you of this truth, and strengthen you, that you may not despaire of Gods mercies. For if I who have sucked my first milk of the *Whore of Babylon*, of the most erroneous *Popish* doctrin, who have worshiped creatures and Saints instead of my Creator, who have been disloyall and treacherous to my King and Countrey, who have beleeved a damnable doctrine of *Purgatory*, derogating thereby from the infinite merits of the satisfaction of Christs Passion, who have superstitiously offered up a sacrifice of the Masse for the quick & dead, as if the Sacrifice which Christ himselfe offered of his own body upon the Crosse were not a sufficient Sacrifice for a whole world, yea and many more worlds: if I who erroneously have beleeved that by my own works I might merit *de condigno*, the glory of heaven, as if any human or naturall works may work a thing supernaturall and merit a glory, which required the meanes and satisfaction of Christ, not as man only, but as God and man. If I who have been almost 40 years thus blinded, who have so many years persecuted the chosen, elect and Protestant people of the Lord, who have so many years been frozen and void of all heat of the love of God, who have so many years been in *Babylon*, in confusion, and slavery; there have been delivered, there have found the mercies of God, like stars in a winter night shining most comfortably into my cold and frozen soule? O let none despaire of the mercies of God, nor willingly fall into sin by my example, least their comming out of *Babylon* be as hard to them as my conversion hath been to me; But how great soever your miseries be, trust in the Lord, that as he prayed for *Peter*, that his Faith might not faile, as he hath pleaded for me before his eternall Father: So he may also be an Advocate and only Mediator between God and you, when deepest you are in sin, and according to mans judgement, hardest to be brought out of it.

The last Point which is plainly to be observed in my text, is a precept and cómand of our Saviour to *Peter*, contained in these words;

And when thou art converted, strengthen thy Brethren.

This *Peter* did, and this all they are bound to do, who are truly converted from sin and from a wicked estate to the true knowledge of Gods Laws. True it is *Peter* did fall, and did most cowardly thrice deny his Master: But after our Saviour looked upon him, and with one look turned his heart, then *Peter* went out and wept bitterly.

And

And he did not only weep and repent within himselfe, but most zealously endeavoured to strengthen his Brethren, as you may observe *Acts* 2. when having received the Holy Spirit himselfe, he preached couragiously unto the *Jews* to convert them and strengthen them in the true Faith, as you may read from the 14°. to the 38 *verse*, and forward, where publickly he said unto them, *Repent and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins, and you shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost.* O he was a true converted man, and thought he must not be contented to be himselfe converted only, but that he was bound to convert and strengthen others. So did *Saul*, who had been so great a Persecutor, when he was truely converted, presently he strived to do good to others, as you may read *Acts* 9. 19, 20. *verses*, *And when he had received meat, he was strengthned. Then was Saul certaine dayes with the Disciples, that were at Damascus; And strait way he preached Christ in the Synagogue, that he is the Son of God.* And further in the 22 *ver. But Saul increased the more in strength, and confounded the Jews that dwelt at Damascus, proving that this is very Christ.* Behold how this converted Apostle is not satisfied with his own conversion, but presently burneth with an inward zeale of communicating unto others that good which he had received from God by his Conversion. Your Divines say, that *Bonum est diffusivum sui*, that which is truly good in it selfe, is with a naturall inclination to impart it selfe, yea prodigally to powre it selfe out to others. This doctrin also *David* teacheth us in his 51 *Psal.* where he repenteth himself for the Adultery which he had committed, and having begged of God, that he would create in him a clean heart and renew a right spirit within him, *Then* saith he in the 13 *verse, will I teach transgressors thy ways, and sinners shall be converted unto thee.* Lo how *David* doth not only repent himselfe, and manifest his conversion by words of sorrow and bitter compunction, but promiseth God, that he will strengthen others, by teaching them the ways of God, that also they may come to be converted.

In the first Chapter of the *Canticles* ver. 4. You shall find a few words easy in this sense, but hard to be understood in any other, where the Spouse speaking to her Beloved, saith, *Draw me, we will run after thee; The King hath brought me into his Chamber, We will be glad and rejoyce in thee; we will remember thy love.* Me thinkes, the Spouse should have said, *draw me*, I will run after thee, *The King hath brought me into his chamber*, I will be glad, I will remember thy love.

If one be drawn, why do many in the plurall number run? If one be brought into the Kings chamber, Why be many glad and rejoyce?

O dearely Beloved, it is to teach us how we ought to behave our selves, when we are truly converted. The Spouse signifieth a soule wedded by Faith to God the true and heavenly Bridgroome; The Chamber whereinto this soule is brought, is the true Church. Therfore if one Soule be drawn by God, many must run after this one, if one Soule be brought into the true, Ancient and Apostolike Church, many must be glad and rejoyce. Why? Because we must not be contented to be drawn alone from our iniquities, we must not be contented to be brought alone into the Church; we must also draw others, we must make others also rejoyce by strengthning them, by teaching them, by converting them by our words, works and good example. This is the command and precept of our Saviour to *Peter*, in the words of my text,

And when thou art converted, strengthen thy Brethren.

This cõmand of Christ, I that am this day converted & brought into the Heavenly Bridgrooms chamber, into his true Church, must also obey. O I must not be contented to be drawn alone, I must be the cause that many may run after me. This, dearely Beloved, I have begun to performe already, having brought one from the snares of *Popery*, & strengthned one soule in the true *Protestant* & Apostolik Religiõ of this Kingdom. This by the Grace of God, both by preaching, writing and printing, I will endeavour all my life to performe by discovering and laying open to the world those Rocks and quicke sands of *Popish* doctrin, whereupon so many soules do run and are dayly cast away by the ignorance of foolish and unskilfull Pilots. O dearely beloved! never were you in greater danger than at these times; for in *Ireland* you see how the *Papists* threaten us with their erroneous doctrines; here at home they secretly plot to bring in their superstitions; therfore let me warne you this day to hoyse up your sailes and top masts, and with the gale of that heavenly Spirit, of that Divine blast save your soules from being splinted upon these Rocks of *Popish* superstition, from being swallowed up with the quick sands of Antichristian doctrin. O beloved abhor all your lives the chief and principall point of all *Popery*, which is that false authority that Supremacy which the *Papists* give to the *Pope* above all the Church. O never admit this erroneous doctrin, nor ever thinke that Christ left *Peter* or any other to be Supream head, and only head over

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the Church, but this authority was given equally to all the Apoſtles as ye may gather out of *Matth.* 28. & 3 laſt *ver.* where our Saviour equally and with equall authority ſent all his Apoſtles to preach and teach, ſaying, *Go ye therefore and teach all Nations.* And further he ſaith, *And loe I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.* Behold how Chriſt ſendeth not only *Peter*, but all his Apoſtles to preach and teach: And ſaith he will bee not only with *Peter*, but with all his Apoſtles inſpiring ſpiritually and inſtructing them all, and not *Peter* alone, to rule and governe & feed with ſpirituall food his flock. If this be ſo, dearly Beloved, never beleeve that the authority which the *Pope* challengeth to himſelf over all the Church is due unto him, who uſurpeth his authority & ſeeketh by it to encroach upon Kings and Princes Crowns, as I ſhall in ſome other occaſion more largely declare. Fly therefore deare ſoules from this chief and moſt dangerous Rock of all *Popery*; and having once diſcovered the dangers of this falſe doctrin, abhor then all other erroneous doctrins of *Rome*, which come from him that uſurpeth Chriſts own power, and challengeth it to himſelfe alone. O let my converſion be your ſtrength and comfort! O beleeve an experienced and skilfull Pilot, who hath travailed almoſt over all the world, and hath by experience of almoſt 40 yeares diſcovered all thoſe rocks and quick ſands of *Popiſh* errors of Antichriſtian doctrines and ſuperſtitions, which threaten the loſſe and utter overthrow of your ſoules. O that this day I may performe what Ieſus ſaid to *Peter*,

And when thou art converted, ſtrengthen thy Brethren.

O let my example, dearely Beloued, ſtrengthen you all in the true *Proteſtant Religion*, that ſo I may ſay with the ſpouſe, *draw me, and we will run*, that I being drawn this day unto the true Faith, yee may all run more haſtily and ſpeedily to the ſame; that I being brought this day into the Kings chamber, that is, into the true Church, ye may all be glad and rejoyce, finding in your ſoules a new & greater ſtrength to continue and dye in this ancient and Apoſtolike Church, that ſo we may all meet and rejoyce together after this life in another chamber of our Heavenly Bridegroome, in the triumphant Church of Heaven. *Amen.*

FINIS.

FINIS.

A PERFECT AND TRVE RELATION

Of the great and bloudy Skirmish, Fought before the City of Worceſter, upon Friday, *Septemb.* 23. 1642.

Between ten Troops of our ſide, conſiſting but of 500. Horſe, and the Troops of the Cavaliers conſiſting of 1800. Horſe, commanded by Prince *Robert* and Prince *Maurice*.

With the names of the Captains and other Officers and Troopers that were ſlaine, wounded, and taken priſoners on our ſide, and alſo of theirs.

Likewiſe ſome other paſſages, upon the comming of the Earl of Eſſex his Armie into *Worceſter* the next day.

Sent in a Letter from Worceſter by Mr. William Bowen, *Enſigne to his Excellence the Earle of Eſſex.*

Dated Septemb. 26.

LONDON,
Printed for Jo. Thomas Octo. 3, 1642.

Printed for Jo. Thomas Octa. 3. 1642.

A TRVE RELATION OF THE LATE BATTELL Before VVORCESTER, *September* 23. 1642.

Sir

TO give you ſome Teſtimony of my poore abilityes to do you Service, for your many favours confered upon me; I cannot otherwiſe for the preſent, then by the Relation of ſome exceeding true & remarkeable paſſages, which (after a tedious march) happened betweene 10. Troops of our Horſe, conſiſting of about 500. which went before the town a day before the Army: And the Cavaleers Troope conſiſting of 1800. Horſe. The Skirmiſh began betweene them, on Friday being the 23. of *September*, about foure of the Clocke in

the afternoone, within a mile of the City of *Worcester*, and within halfe a flight shot of the River *Severne*: The reason that our 10. troops (being but a handfull to the Cavaleers) fell on us, was, that the Cavaleers had very cunningly sent a report to those 10. troops, pretending it came from the Lord Generall, the Earle of *Essex*, that his Excellencie was within a mile of the other side of the towne, and would fall on presently, and wisht them to fall on likewise, which was a plot and a meere invention of the Cavaleers, for those 10. troops to fall on, whereby they with all their Forces, intended to cut of these 10. troops: His Excellencies Army being at that time (which the Cavaleers knew very well) five myles distant from *Worcester*, and had marcht exceeding hard that day to come so neere; for had our Army beene then within a myle of the towne, we had taken all the Cavaleers.

But to give a perfect and true Relation of this Fight, and what Commanders we lost, I shall give you a particular of their names, which I had from some Officers that were then in the Skirmish, and are very much wounded; And therefore you may be bold to take this for a true Relation: Colonell *Sands* troope fell on first, where the Colonell himselfe was dangerously wounded in three places, his Cornett slaine, his Leivtenant dangerously wounded: Sergeant Major *Douglas* a brave Souldier was slaine, Captaine *Berry* slaine, his Cornett wounded, Captaine *Astons* Leiv-

Leivtenant slaine, his Cornett slaine, his Quartermaster dangerously wounded, 6. of his troopers slaine, and 16 hurt: Captaine *Lidcotts* Cornett slaine, his Quartermaster dangerously wounded, his Corporall slaine: Two of Alderman *Soames* men which were troopers, and in this Skirmish, one whereof *viz.* Master *Low* was slaine, and the other *viz.* Master *Tynne*, taken Prisoner, and carried away by Prince *Roberts* Forces.

Captaine *Burrell*, Captaine *Heale*, and Captaine *Fynes*, were also in this Skirmish, but are come off well, with the losse onely of some troopers.

As for the number of our Common Horse or Troopers, which were that Evening slaine, I cannot heare but of 23. And for the Cavaleers, it is credibly reported, that they lost some Commanders, for they were seene to carry away foure dead Corps, and it is Reported for certaine, that Prince *Maurice*, Brother to Prince *Robert* was dangerously hurt; And for all the odds of the Cavaleers, who having encompassed four men, as it were in a halfe Moone, yet our Troops charged through their whole Body, and forct their passage, onely with the losse of what is above mentioned, and so made their retreat good; And then the Cavaleers marcht into the Town, and about 12. of the Clocke that night, Ranne quite away, And are gone to *Ludlow*, not daring to stay the comming of our Army the next morning; For upon Report of this Skirmish to his Excellencie

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the Earle of *Essex*, the Army being quartered in the Feilds for that night, having marcht that day about Foreteene myles, and for fiveteene dayes together Exceeding hard, gave Order to the whole Army to march the next morning by the Breake of Day.

Whereupon the whole Army gave a great shout, being overjoyed to heare that they should Encounter with the Cavaleers; Insomuch that the sound of the Drums, at that time could not be heard.

The Commanders encouraging the Souldiers, And the Souldiers Vowing to follow their Commanders; Although a Report came into our Campe, That Prince *ROBERT* would give us Battell the next Morning, which was but a Bravado of theirs.

Yet our men were no whitt daunted, but rather Encouraged and stronger in their former Resolutions.

And then every Regiment returning to their quarters, and passing on their Duty, wishing every minute the morning Starre to appeare, But before the time appointed for our Army to march, we were prevented of our long hoped wishes, by reason of a Petition which was sent from the Major, and Aldermen, of the City of *WORCESTER*, (by one Master *Ray*, one of the Captaines of the Trained Bands of *Worcester*) to our Generall the Earle of *ESSEX*, certifying him that the Cavaleers were all gone out of *Worcester*

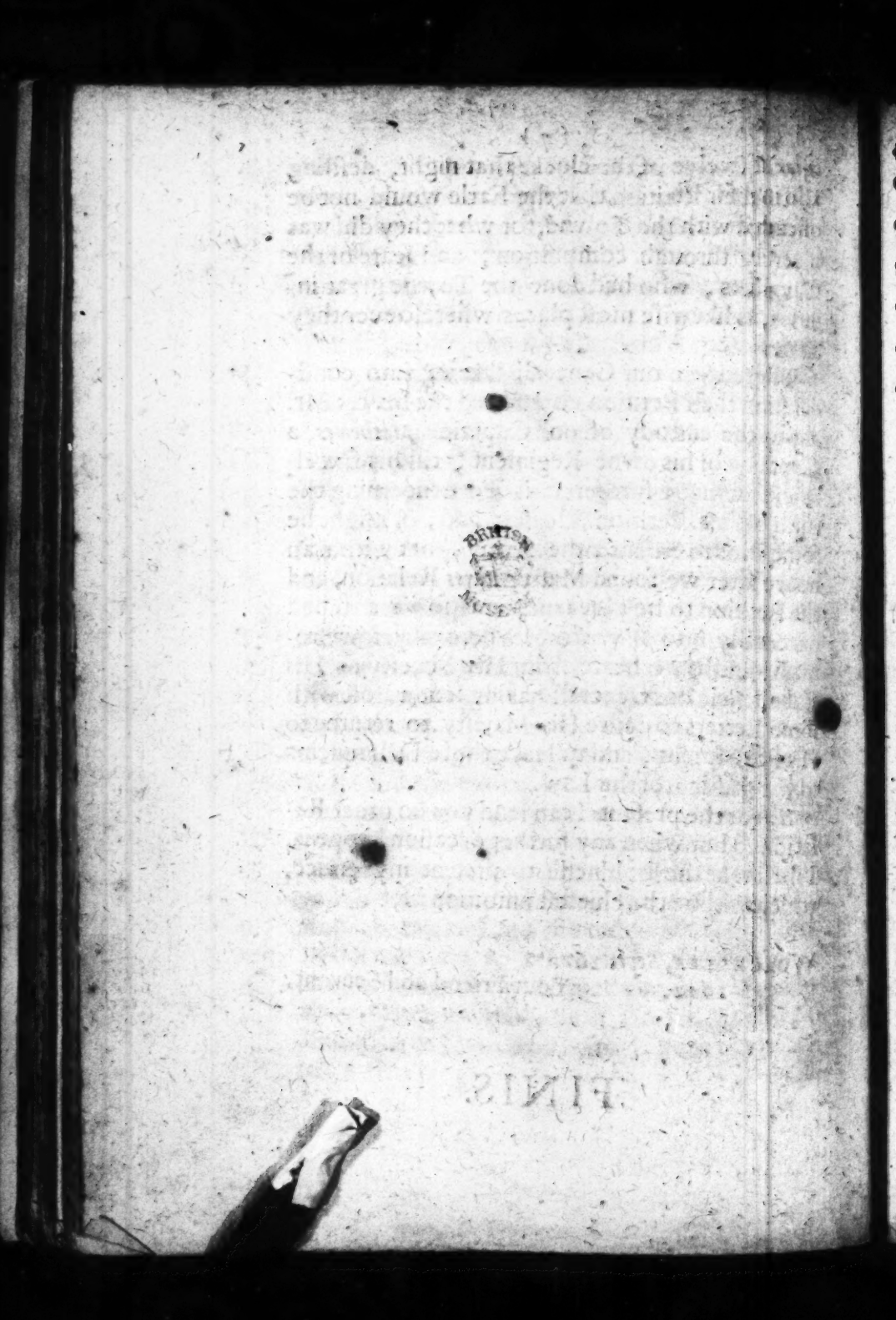
ceſter at twelve of the clocke that night, deſiring alſo in their Petition that the Earle would not be offended with the Towne, for what they did was meerely through compulſion, and feare of the Cavaleers, who had done the Towne great injuries, as likewiſe moſt places whereſoever they came.

Thereupon our Generall takeing into conſideration their Petition, commited the bearer Mr. *Ray* to the cuſtody of one Captaine *Mathewes*, a Captaine of his owne Regiment; till his Excellencie might be further ſatisfied concerning the truth of this Petition, leaſt it had, or might be ſome Plot to enſnare the Army; but within an houre after we found Maſter *Rayes* Relation, and the Petition to be very true, and ſo we marched peaceably into *Worceſter*, where as yet we remaine untill we heare from His Majeſty: His Excellencie our Generall having ſent a Poſt with ſome Letters to deſire His Majeſty to returne to His Parliament, and to leave thoſe Delinquents to the Juſtice of the Law.

So for the preſent I can ſend you no other Relation, but when any further occaſion happens, I ſhall take the boldneſſe to preſent my ſervice, which will be the chiefeſt ambition of,

WORCESTER, *Sept.* 26.
1642. Your Friend and Servant,
William Bowen.

FINIS.



22

A most exact

RELATION

Of a great

VICTORY,

Obtained by the poor Protestants

IN

IRELAND,

Under the Command of the Lords *Inchequeen*, and *Kinealmekie*, and Sir *Charles Vavasour*, against the Rebells.

Also severall

DEPOSITIONS

Taken before the Maior of *Kinsale*, concerning Ships, Men, and Ammunition, sent to the Rebels from *France* and *Spain*.

Sent from the Maior of *Kinsale*, to a brother of his a *Merchant* in *London*.

Presented to the high Court of Parliament, and commanded to be forthwith Printed.

Octob. 3. *London*, Printed for *Joseph Hunscott*.

1642.

BRITISH MUSEUM

Kinsale the $\frac{16}{29}$ *of Septemb.* 1642.

Brother BENJAMIN WHE[illegible],

MY last w[illegible] and 26 past, which we[illegible]yfad, and therfore make no repeatall, only a touch of the neceſſity of the Fort of *Doncannon*, if it be not ſpeedily relcived, The Rebels are in great numbers continually round about it, & queſtionles do thirſt much after it, *Waxford* have ſet forth 5 or 6 men of War, one of them carrieth 18 Pieces of Ordnance, and it is reported they have lately taken 5 or 6 Engliſh Barques, ſo that all thoſe parts, *Duncannon* excepted, is as ſecure unto them, as the River and County of *Limbrick*; It were good ſervice for ſome of our Ships to deſtroy the Herring fiſhing of *Waxford* and *Kilbeggs*. I will now with much joy and thankfullneſſe of heart relate, to Gods glory, the great and wonderful work he hath lately done among us. The laſt day of *Auguſt* came the

Lord *Inchequeens* command to our Governour, requiring him to send away all the Force he could possibly make, foot and horse, and that he should rise and march away presently; the like was done in *Tonghall* and *Bandonbirdge*, the first present they marched from hence, the second they all met at their Randevouz neer about *Donnerayle* and the third day for ever to be remembered, very timely they marched to *Liscarrell* Castle, which *Muscry* the day before had taken, and was then there with his forces encamped about 8000 fighting men and seven hundred horse, the best of the Province, our forces not passing seventeen hundred horse and foot: the Enemy were full fed, ours had scarce bread in their Knapsacks; theirs healthy strong and lusty, ours for the most part weak and sick, not able to endure the weight of a Musquet, and for certain, many upon the march had perished in the ditches, had not some of our horsemen taken them up behind them and carried them to the place where they must make a stand; The Enemy had the Castle of *Liscarrell* to friend, three pieces of Ordnance, whereof one of them weighed neer 8000. weight, mounted in a convenient Battery, half Moons and Breast-works drawn with much ingenuity; on the other side a very great Bogg to secure them, *in fine*, they had so far what they desired and to naturall reason what nature could afford, ours for the most part a naked People. The Onset was given by a few horse of this Town and *Bandon*, and a little too timely, they had not any

any of them ſo much as a head-piece, onely my Lord of *Kinealmakie* that was cloathed with Armour of proof, were enforced to retreat, in which my Lord onely was ſhot, and not a man of the reſt touched; It was Gods great mercy that this ſo timely Onſet had not wrought untimely effects, by encouraging the Enemy and diſheartning of us: But our mayne Body coming up, and ſo well ordered, the horſe led by my Lord of *Inchequeen*, and the foot by Sir *Charls Vavaſour*, who went in the head of them, and with good language and reaſons did ſo encourage them, as every man cryed Victory before they had given fire; Captain *Chidley* behaved himſelf with ſingular valour and diſcretion: Sergeant Major *Story* is much honoured for his valiant Actions. The Lord *Inchequeen* was once far engaged and in ſome danger, but relieved by Captain *Gibſon*, and at that time ſlew one of their great Champions called *Oliver Steevens* with his owne hand, The Onſet being given by our Horſe, and the Battell began by the Muskettiers, being in number about 400, continued for a time ſomthing doubtfull, the Iriſh making hideous noyſes, and ſtood to it very valiantly; their Ordnance at firſt ſtroke a terrour, but God ſo directed the buſineſſe, that they went over and did us no harm; our ſick were recovered, felt no more weakneſſe nor infirmity, but ſtood to it like brave men, God gave them hearts according to the goodneſſe of their cauſe; and after an hour and a half, or thereabouts, the Friers and the Prieſts faith failed them, that they

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ran away, Generall *Barry* was easily perſwaded to go with them; the Lord of *Muſery* took his leave with a plain Complement, That he had done what he could, and did hope another time to have better ſucceſſe; it is imagined he had received a ſhot, abundance of the prime Gentlemen were ſlain upon the place, the reſt fled, and according to their wonted cuſtome, betook themſelves to Woods and Bogs; our Horſe purſued them as far as it was convenient: Two hundred that were in the Caſtle, and might have kept out 5000, ran with the reſt, the like did thoſe that were with the Ordnance in the Battery, Colonell *Butler*, and divers other Commanders taken priſoners: Of the Rebells were ſlain at leaſt 700, and above a thouſand more dangerouſly wounded: Our people brought away five or ſix hundred Muskets, three Pieces of Braſſe Ordnance, which were taken out of the Caſtle of *Lymbricke*, five Barrells of Powder: it is thought the Friers carryed the reſt of the Powder with them; the Fields were cövered with Pikes, which our people regarded not: Captain *Cooper*, with a Company of men, was appointed to keep the Caſtle, and the three Pieces of Ordnance brought to *Mallow*, ſuppoſed they ſhall be brought to *Cork*.

This was the great work of the Almighty, for of our ſide were not paſſing four or five men ſlain, and five or ſix wounded, which in ſhort time may

reco-

recover: Colonell *Butler* that was taken priſoner, confeſſeth that they knew of our coming to them at leaſt 24 hours before, which was almoſt as ſoon as the buſineſſe was conceived, And that they made nothing of us; his compariſon was no more, then if ten men armed compleatly, ſhould encounter with two naked horſe-boyes, And that their intent was from this Caſtle, to have gone to *Donnerayle* and *Mallowe*, which in their conceits would ſcarce have hindred them an hours march; From thence to *Cork* and *Bandon*; and from this place to have driven us all into the Sea: And indeed, as the caſe ſtood with us, what they intended might have been eaſily brought to paſſe, what by the deſeaſe amongſt our ſouldiers, want of pay and cloaths, the difference that was grown in *Bandon* between the Lord of *Kinelmeakie* and the Inhabitants, and to naturall reaſon our going thither with ſuch a handfull of weake men to give them Battle, ſo many in number, ſo well Armed, and ſo ſtrongly ſcituated, had been to abandon our Garriſons and to haſten our own deſtruction: But as I have ſaid it was the finger of God onely that did direct us, that his power & providence in his own cauſe might be the more clearly diſcerned by us: They had all taken the Sacrament to fight it out to the laſt man, and it is credibly reported that the Fryars had given many of them Charms to keep them ſhot-free.

One paſſage more I may not omitt, how it pleaſed

pleased God to confound them in their own policy, they did possesse the Common People that all the Common Souldiers and English of these parts were all sick and dead, and that there were not passing three or four hundred living, and that it was but staying eight or ten dayes till they should have the possession of all the Towns without striking a blow; but when they saw our people approaching neer, and not able to discerne what number we might be, which seemed very great unto them, and seeing us marching still towards them, that the former Informations stroke such a terror in them, that they all cryed out, Are these the three or four hundred men living? and thereupon flung down their Arms and ran away, so in every thing it is plain the Lord was our deliverer, we shall now I hope in few dayes be able to gather some relief for our Towns.

A Gentleman, one Master *Hasset*, that was a prisoner with them, understanding very well the Irish Tongue, saith he heard them talk a day or two before this Battell, that the Lord *Harbes* and his Fleet were at *Galway*, and with the help of the Fort, had taken in that Town; which I believe to be true.

We are now at the 19 *Ditto*. The above is Copy of a former, which I confirm in each particular, since our Army hath not stirred in any busineſſe of consequence, neither have we heard of any thing done by the Rebels hereabouts; neither

can

can we learn of any new head made by them to attempt any thing ſuddenly,

Sir *Charles Vavaſour* is come to garriſon with two or three companies in *Bandon-bridge*, Captaine *Chidley* is with him, they were with me about three dayes paſt, and by Gods bleſſing they will be now a meanes to repaire the breaches of diſorder which were in that Towne, and bee a great ſecuring to us in all theſe parts, we labour now to ſome purpoſe to bring in what harveſt wee can; it is much better with us then wee expected, it is Gods great mercy and favour towards us.

Incloſed I ſend you an examination taken of a Merchant and Maſter from *Bilboa*, the contents agree with a copie of a Letter ſent me by Maſter *Anthony Stowell*, which hee ſaith was preſented to the Committee, and by them to be ſent to the ſeverall ports in theſe parts now in obedience, which I have done, the Letter was written by *George Paſmore* in Sr. *Sabaſtians* to *Humphry Tocker* in *Exon.* and it agreeth in the ſubſtance with the examination.

Yeſterday came into this Port one *Captaine Browne* of *Plimouth* from the weſterne parts, reporteth my Lord *Forkes* was at *Galloway*, and ordered all things well in that Towne, (as he thought) and from thence came to the river of *Lymbrick*, and that before hee could doe any thing there, Newes was brought him that *Galloway* was againe revolted, whereupon he returned againe thither

with all his forces, and that in this progresse some of his fleet had taken a vessell that came from the coast of *Byscay*, laden with powder, ordinance, musket-barrels, and other armes, and my hope is it is true.

I hope the Admirall *Kettleby* is by this brought to answere his leaving this coast when it was in most necessity.

I have furnished the castle of *Castle-haven* by the Lord *Inchequeenes* entreaty, with two pieces, ordinance, carriages, shot, and all things compleat, and three barrells of powder, which were belonging to the ship *Charles*.

Likewise by my Lord of *Barrimores* command, I have delivered foure pieces ordinance, and all appurtenances for the fortifying of this castle *Lyons*, which hath been long threatned, and often assaulted by the enemy. I hope in time I shall have satisfaction for all, if all things goe well, if otherwise, both our selves and our estates must goe together, my confidence is God will bee further glorified by us.

Yours the 24th of *August* came lately to hand, and take notice how neere your condition is brought to ours, it was alwayes my opinion they were twins.

I sent you an account of my disbursements in his Majesties service to that day, which I am confident you have received, but answer nothing unto it, at which I marvell, but I shall expect it by

your

yours next, and hope that honourable assembly will speedily order you satisfaction.

If *William Slaughter* of *Crook-haven* bee with you, put him in minde to petition for his horses and armes, Captaine *Kettleby* keeps a horse of mine with his, very unworthily, and but by some such meanes wee shall never have any recompence. forget not the solicitation of *Polilong* it is all the earthly meanes I depend on in Recompence of my losses, and for the future maintenance of my poore distressed family. This is what for the present I remember, the Lord of heaven keepe and protect you and us from the evill is dayly threatned, if we beg and pray aright we shall prevaile.

Your loving Brother,

Treſtram Wbeacombe.

Depoſitions of William Lake, *Maſter of the* Hope-well *of* Foye, *burden* 60 *Tuns*, *taken before* Triſtram Whetcombe, *Maior of* Kinſale, *upon Oath*, Sept. 6. 1642.

THis Examinate being duely ſworn, upon the holy Evangeliſt, ſaith *inter alia*, That about eight dayes paſt he came forth from *Bilboa* in *Biskey*, in compa-ny of ſeven other Veſſels, belonging to ſeve-rall Ports in *England*; And that in *July* laſt, he, this Examinate was at *Nants*, where he ſaw, and did often converſe with ſeverall *Iriſh* Merchants belonging to *Gallaway*, *Blakes*, and *Brownes*, who ſeemed to be ve-ry plentifull in Monies, and bought a *French* Ship belonging to *Oldron*, burden 120 Tuns, or thereabouts, 12 Pieces of Ordnance, and preſently after began to take aboard Ammu-nition of all ſorts, the certain quantity he knoweth not; but as far as their eſtates would

would ſtretch they employed, and gave forth, That they intended to proceed a man of War to take *Engliſh*, and that of as many as they could take, not a man ſhould eſcape with his life; and that they ſhould not expect any quarter at all. And further ſaith, That within few dayes after this Veſſel was bought and divulged abroad, there came into the Town 3 or 400 *Iriſh* from *Paris* and other places, amongſt which were divers Prieſts and Friars to this Deponents knowledge, and ſo many of them went aboard the ſaid Veſſel as ſhe could conveniently carry; but the certain quantitie of Ammunition, number of perſons, or place where they were bound, he knoweth not.

He further depoſeth, That one *Stephen Linch* of *Galaway* Merchant, but of late years hath reſided in *Bilboa*, having a Veſſell of about 60 Tuns, lying in S. *Sabaſtians* about two Months paſt, began to load her with Powder and Ammunition; the certain quantitie of Powder he had provided, was five hundred Barrells, 40 or 50 Pieces of ſmall Ordnance, Muſket-Barrells, and Rapier Blades:

Blades: Which intention and practice coming to the notice of *English* Merchants there resident, in a generall way they petitioned to the Governour to make search and stay of what should be found aboard, or in his possession; whereupon the Governour, instead of giving a favourable answer, commanded all the said *English* to be imprisoned, and imposed heavy Fines upon them; and for satisfaction of the said Fines, caused their Cellers and Ware-houses to be broken open, and seized and sold the goods therein, untill the uttermost penny of the said Fines were satisfied; in which sales the said goods were much under-valued, to the great dammage of the said Merchants: And presently after the said petition and punishment, the *Fish*, with the Governours approbation, not onely ordered the said Vessell, but *Linch* and his adherents bought another Vessell of 50 Tuns, and sent both to a neer adjoyning Creek called *Maurico*, where they both finished their ladings.

This Deponent further saith, That he was credibly informed by some *English* Mariners

ners that were present, and saw when two Lighter-loads of Chests packed with Musket Barrells, and Rapier Blades, were put aboard the said Vessells; and that they were both full laden, and ready to sail a Month past; and as he was informed, they did depart that Coast about 18 dayes past, bound for *Galaway*: the said *Stephen Linch* Imbarqued himself, and had in both Ships about 60 Sea-men all *Irish*.

This Deponent likewise saith, That besides the Ammunition (as he was credibly informed) these Vessells have aboard at least twelve thousand pounds *Starling*, in ready Coyn, which was gathered there in the Countrey: and that every *Irish* man there resident, did strive, and was very forward to adventure the uttermost penny of his Estate in this Catholike Cause, and did boast in their common discourse, what they had and would do. And being demanded what passengers came in the said Vessells, saith, They had aboard many passengers, but one of them of speciall note, called

called by the name of *Oneale*, which had beene bred, and brought up in *Spayne*, and further he rememembreth not. *Richard May* Merchant came in the above sayd vessell, from *Bilboa*, and confirmed the above things in each particular.

Tristram Whetcomb Soffraigne.

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BRITISH MUSEUM

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THE NEWEST PROCEEDINGS IN IRELAND:

BEING

A true Discovery of a famous Victory obtained against the Rebels by the Vice-President of Munster, where the great *Oneale* was put to flight, and forced to put himselfe into the habit of a common souldier, to save himselfe from the fury of the English.

Also true Information from the ships which ride before Galway, *wherein is manifested a true Relation how certain ships from* Spaine *laden with ammunition, made an attempt to land, but were pursued by the said ships, and forced to strike into a small Creek, where they stuck fast, and were taken by the English.*

Likewise the true Proceedings of the Scotish Forces in the North parts of *Ireland.*

With a true information that many of the Irish Commanders have left their service in Ireland, *and are come for* England: *namely, the Lord* Grendison, *Captain* Bartlet, *and Captain* Gibson, *with many others: also how the Officers now resident in* Ireland *have all this Summer been backward to oppose the Rebels, pretending that they are commanded so to do.*

Being the Copie of a Letter sent to J.R. a Merchant in *Bishops-Gate Street*, and now published to prevent false copies.

Printed for Th. Cooke. *October* 3. 1642.

BRITISH MUSEUM

THE NEWEST PROCEEDINGS IN IRELAND,

BEING

A true Diſcoverie of a famous victory obtained againſt the Rebels, by the Vice-Preſident of *Munſter*, where the great *Oneale* was put to flight, and forced to put himſelf into the habit of a common ſouldier to ſave himſelf from the fury of the *Engliſh*.

Loving Brother,

HAVING received information from you of the paſſages in England, I have thought it neceſſary to give you by this bearer (a friend of mine) notice of our occurrences and proceedings of late in this Kingdome.

On the 22. of September the great Rebel Oneal came before Munſter with neer 15000. men, threatning ruine and deſtruction to all that ſhould any way reſiſt them, pretending withall, that he had the Kings authority for what he did: but I conceive that is but a counterfeit ſhew and falſe pretence, wherewith he beguiled the ignorant Iriſh, taking example, as I conceive, of the malignants of your Kingdome, who colour all their vvicked and malicious deſignes under a pretence of ſtanding for His Majeſty, and the defence of the true Proteſtant Religion, when indeed their ends are like his, tending to nothing but ruine and deſtruction.

But we, being well acquainted with his trecherous actions, and knowing that our chief ſecurity conſiſted in Gods protection and our own timely prevention, gathered our ſelves together under the command of our Vice-Preſident: and though we were but a ſmall number in compariſon of his forces, yet being

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ing put into a martial equipage, we fronted boldly, without demanding the cauſe of his preſent arrivall.

This ſudden and unexpected charge proved very advantagious to us, and diſadvantagious to them: for inſtead of making good their ground, they loſt their order, which by the continuall motion and ſtriving of the groſſe body, was rather more diſordered, then any way recovered, by which meanes our men did very great execution upon the army of the Rebels, routing and ſcattering their maine Batalia, our Troupes of Horſe falling upon their flanks, and trampling the Iriſh Kernes like morter upon the ground: it was a kinde of delight to us to heare the muſicke that was made betwixt the Drums & Trumpets, our ſhouts, and their acclamations, which were much ſhriller then the Trumpets, and indeed were heard louder then any part of the conſort. To be ſhort, we ſlew above two hundred of the Rebels forces, and wee loſt not above

above twenty five: only ſome that were wounded in the purſuit with their weapons which were ſcattered upon the ground, eſpecially pikes, and ſome skenes, which we reſerved; onely the pikes, by reaſon that wee wanted waggons, wee were commanded to burne them, to the end that they might bee made unfit to be imployd in any ſervice againſt us. Philomy Oneale was in ſuch haſte to eſcape, that he took up his lodging that night in the woods, & the next day ſtole away diſguiſed in the habit of a common ſouldier. Our Province is cleered neer thirty miles round about.

I received information from the harbor of Gallway, that the Engliſh ſhips imployed by the Parliament of England have lately had in chaſe certain Spaniſh Frigots, laden with ammunition, which were intended to be landed for the ſervice of the Rebels, but being prevented and cloſely chaſed by the Engliſh ſhips, they ſtrucke into a Creeke ſome three miles from Galway, which goes from

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the Ocean up to Munſter, but being unacquainted with the turnings of the channell, and running with a ſtiffe foreright wind, they ſtruck upon a ſhelve, and ſtuck faſt, ſo that before they could get their Ordnance aſhore to guard their fraught, they were cloſe ſet upon by the Engliſh, which were put on ſhore from the ſhips in long boats, and they with their rich fraught were ſeized on to bee imployed againſt the Rebels.

The Scottiſh Forces under the command of Colonell Lesley have behaved themſelves very nobly, and oftentimes put the rebels to the worſt, having taken many Caſtles, and other places of great eminency.

Our Commanders play falſe play, and leave us: My Lord Grandiſon hath left his Troupe to the wide world, Captain Bartlet hath forſaken us, and Captaine Gibſon, with many others. Other our Officers that are reſident with us, play leaſt in ſight: they have got into ſtrong holds, and doe nothing, but ſuffer the

Rebels

Rebels to come up to the very walls of Dublin, doing ſpoile, robbing and plundering the inhabitants without contradiction: Likewiſe they pretend, that they are commanded to deſiſt, but by what authority, they denie to make knowne: but wee have great cauſe to feare that they are popiſhly affected, and by their practiſes do further the commotions in England. If we had but ſome preſent ſupply, we doubt not but to recover our priſtine liberty; but if things continue at this ſtay, we are all deſtined to ruine, and the Kingdome muſt of neceſsitie be utterly loſt. I pray remember our diſtreſſed eſtate in your prayers, and according to your opportunity let me heare what paſſes in England. So in haſt I reſt,

Your loving brother,

J. WALSGRAVE.

FINIS.

Numb. 8.

SPECIALL

PASSAGES

And certain Informations from severall places, Collected for the use of all that desire to be truely Informed.

From *Tuesday*, the 27. of *Septemb.* to *Tuesday* the 4. of *October*, 1642.

Westminster, Septemb. 27. 1642.

CErtain information came to both Houses, that young Mr. *Hotham* was issued out of *Hull* with 500. Foote, 100. Horse, and 2. pieces of Ordnance, and that Sir *Edward Rodes* had 1000. men about *Rotherham* to joyne with him, and that the West-riding of *Yorkshire* had chosen the Lord *Fairfax* their Commander in chiefe for the King and Parliament, and that *Francis Nevill* of *Chesh.* the Lord *Savill*, and others had taken Sanctuary in *Pomfret* Castle, and had sent unto Mr. *Hotham* to declare what was the cause of his comming in that Hostile manner. Who returned answer, That he came to preserve the peace of the County, the well affected party from the malignant, to obey and execute the Orders of Parliament, and to apprehend such as are Delinquents to one, or both Houses, or declared enemies to the State (as the Lo: *Savill* is) upon this the Earle of *Cumberland* raised the Trained band about *Halifax*, requiring them to assist him, in preventing and stopping Mr. *Hothams* marching forward, but they refused, crying with loud acclamations, a *Fairfax*, a *Fairfax*, they would live, and die with a *Fairfax*, giving leave to the Earle to seek further for such as would assist him against the Parliament. Both Houses have approved of the County of *Yorks* choyce of the Lo: *Fairfax* to be their Commander, as also of Master *Hothams* answer, and of his comming in that manner.

Dorchester, Septemb. 24.

Information is come to this Town, that the Earl of *Bedford* on Saturday last was with 8. Troopes before *Aldenham*, and that the Marquesse had sent 60. Cavaliers to demand entrance of Mr. *Lawrence* into his Castle, to which he inclined, but Mistresse *Lawrence* opposed, and commanded the men within to give fire, he commanded them not to do it, and she again commanded them

them upon their lives to doe it, which accordingly they did, whereupon the Cavaliers retreated: All Ships and Boats are taken from the Coasts thereabouts, leſt the Marqueſſe eſcape by Sea to *Wales*.

It is further informed, that at *Molton* in *Devonſhire*, the Earle of *Bath*, Sir *Bevill Greenvile*, and others of the Commiſſion of Array were there met, but the women of the Town riſe, and with Spits, Tongs, and Stones, beate them out of the Town.

Weſtminſter, Septemb. 27.

Both Houſes of Parliament have ſequeſtred the rents and profits of the Lands of the Lord *Capell*, for the uſe of the Common-wealth, becauſe by his own Letter he commanded his Tenants in *Somerſetſhire* to pay their Rents and Fines to the Marqueſſe of *Hertford*, who is in actuall rebellion againſt the King and Parliament.

Both Houſes have diſpatched Mr. *Ruſhworth* poſt into the North about ſome important affaires, who hath already ſerved the Common-wealth in riding between *Yorke* and *London*, twelve times this Sommer, about extraordinary occaſions.

Munſter, Septemb. 12.

Upon the 3. of this inſtant, the Rebels had framed a very formidable Army from *Lymricke* ſide, conſiſting of above 5000. Foote, and 10. Troopes of Horſe, two field pieces, and one great battering piece, with which they reſolved to make a perfect Conqueſt of all thoſe pieces which the *Engliſh* yet hold in the Province of *Munſter*: The Lo: *Inchequin*, a very Noble and valiant Gentleman, having certain notice by his Scouts and Eſpials, of the Rebels intentions, drew out all the *Engliſh* out of their Garriſons, collected them into a body, being about 1700. Foote, and 8. Troopes of Horſe, but not compleate, for ſome were ſo thin, that they were not above 25, in a Troope; With theſe he reſolved through Gods bleſſing to give the enemy Battell, and to accommodate himſelf the better for the Armies ſecurity, in caſe of any diſaſter that might happen, he haſted his march towards a Caſtle, being the outmoſt ſtrength that the *Engliſh* had in that Province, that ſo hee might upon all occaſions have it for a ſafe retreate, but ſuch was the vigilancy of the enemy, that they made as much haſt to take this Caſtle, being the firſt impediment they were to meet with in their expedition, and being come thither firſt, upon their ſummoning of it, it was rendred up to them; The Lord *Inchequin* finding his firſt expectation fruſtrated, was yet no whit diſmayed, but continued his reſolution to fight with the Rebels, notwithſtanding their great odds, and to that end having diſpoſed and apted his ſmall Army for the encounter, giving Rules and Orders to each Commander, how to behave and quit themſelves, the enemy being ranged in Batalia, and

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in view, he gave speciall directions, that after his Horse had given a charge, they should with as much celerity as could be wheele about, and with a hand gallop retreate to a ground of advantage which he had appointed, accordingly they gave the Rebels Horse a charge, who received them very couragiously, their Troopes exceeding well ordered, & lined with Harquebushes, our Horse presently forsook the charge, being too hot, and according to former direction, with a handsome full gallop, wheeled about, and recovered the ground appointed, but were much disordered in the doing of it, which the enemy perceiving, and apprehending it to be feare, and an argument of flight, put spurs to their Horse to pursue, whereby they were divided from their strength, and before they could arrive to the ground of advantage, my L. *Inchequin* had reduced his Troopes into a compleat order, and charged the enemy very full and home, himself being in the Front, and was so far engaged, that he was pell mell with his naked Sword amongst the Rebels, two of his Captaines were forced to engage themselves to fetch him off, whilest his Troope was according to order wheeling about for a re-charge, who were no sooner come in, but my Lord riding in the head of them, fell so violently upon the Rebels Horse, that they fled, being routed, and disordered their own Foote, and was followed as fast by my Lord, giving them no respite to rally themselves, whereby he put them to a totall Rout, doing execution upon them the rest of the day, killing above 600. of them, taking great store of Muskets and Pikes, their Ordnance and Ammunition, with all their bag and baggage, which done, he gave thankes for that Victory to God, first privately, and since by command publikely.

Taunton, Septemb. 26.

We were certified, that upon Friday last, the Marquesse of *Hertford* shipped 400. of his men, and 45. of his best Horses at *Minhead*, and about 12. a clock at night set sayle for *Wales*, this hath bred no small discontent amongst those that stand for the King and Parliament, that they should so escape, when our hopes were, that they should have been all cut off which had so troubled the peace of our Country, and whole Kingdome, but now we much feare that the Marquesse may quickly returne from *Wales*, not being above 4. houres saile, and may surprise the Castle neare *Minhead*, which is of that strength, if he should possesse himselfe of it, 10000. men could not get him out, unlesse by starving, and then he may be a scourge to our Country, and make it a seat of War, the very thoughts hereof made us forget to give entertainment to the Earl of *Bedford*, when he came back from the pursuit of Marquesse, &c.

Neare Worcester, Septemb. 29.

I have endeavoured to give you satisfaction concerning the Battell on Friday last, but cannot yet get a right information, yet that I may not seem

to neglect you, I shall give you some notice thereof, until by the next I shall render it more perfect: Colonell *Sandys*, a Gentleman of too much valour, who could not brook the adverse party within his view, but maugre all difficulties, dangers, disadvantages, and many dissuasions, would needs charge them before his time, upon a false information, whereas had he stayed but that night, the enemy had in all probability been ruined, and the maine strength of that party cut off, for the Lo: *Digby* was there as well as Prince *Robert*, and the Cavaliers, whatsoever their party may brag of, were so handled by six Troopes of oars, for no more were engaged, that they have no cause to brag, nor did second thoughts proceed to a day of Thanksgiving, as was intended at *Shrewsbury* for the victory, and although one of the Captaine Cavaliers posted to the King, presenting him with 6. Cornets Colours, as a Trophy of that Victory for which he was Knighted, yet I can assure you we lost but three; as for the number of the slain on both sides, and what men of quality, I must refer you to my next, only I shall adde this, that Colonell *Sandys* in this action fell not short of Sir *Rich*: *Grenville* in Queene *Elizabeths* time, who being a Captain of one of the Queenes Ships in company with the Lo: Admirall upon the Coasts of *Spaine*, the Spanish Fleet approaching, and his Lo: Admirall with the English Fleet sayling away, yet would not Sir *Rich*: *Grenville* budge, but would fight with the whole Fleet, which he performed with as much fortitude and resolution as could be in man, and after much dammage done the enemy, having received divers wounds, he was taken, but dyed, leaving behinde him the Fame of a most rash valiant man.

Westminster, Septemb. 29.

Two Letters were presented to the House of Commons from *Cork*, from the Lo: *Inchequin*, bearing date 13. of *Sept.* and another inclosed from Captain *Cook*, of the 10. of *Sept.* signifying what a defeat the Lo: *Inchequin* had given the Rebels, and concerning some prejudice done to his Majesties Subjects at Sea: these Letters were sent up to the House of Peeres, and a Conference desired, at which it was resolved that the Lo: *Inchequin* shall be Captain Generall of the Forces in *Munster*, and Governour of the said Province.

Further resolved that all Merchants that will set out Ships for the Coasts of *Ireland*, the undertakers to have the benefit that shall arise by the surprise of them.

Sixteen thousand pound is to be advanced for providing of Horse, and Armes and other Ammunition for the Lo: *Inchequin*.

September, 1642.

The House of Commons desired a conference with the Lords concerning his Majesties Speech and Propositions made in the head of his Army, but were denyed [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] referred to a Committee, and resolved that if the King be Traytor, so is the Parliament, if they be Protestants, and papists and Atheists, as hath been concluded the Parliament go have little Religion, which is a great scandall to the Parliament.

The Earle of *Northampton* having been an active man in moving of these great distempers in the Kingdome, and for the same formerly impeached, the Parliament hath now again ordered that the Tenants of the said Earle of *Northampton* be required to keepe their Rents in their hands, and that they do not pay any unto him or his assignes, till the House hath taken further order, and declared the Tenants are named particularly specified.

Tuesday, October 4.

The warre is begun in diverse parts, Sir *Tho. Glenham* marched out of *Pomfret* Castle this weeke with a Troope of Horse, and in a narrow passage intercepted Sir *John Savill* of *Lupset*, who was going with no Horse to the Lord *Fairfax* at *Leeds*, slew two of his men, wounded others, and carried Sir *John Savill* with some of his men prisoners to *Pomfret* Castle, the Cavaliers crying a Traytor, a Traytor as they marched into *Pomfret*; Master *Hotham* did send out a Squadron of Horse who came to the Walls of the Castle, sounded a charge and discharged their Pistolls and Carabines, but none came out to encounter with them; in their returne they met with foure of the Castle Scouts, tooke two of them prisoners, kild a Horse of the third, and the fourth escaped. The Arch-Bishop of *York* is fled to *Pomfret* Castle, and most of those that are Delinquents to the Parliament; some of the Trained bands are come unto them, the Sheriffe hath sent out his Warrants for raysing *Posse Comitatus*, it is said to oppose Master *Hothams* Forces, but Master *Hotham* marched from *Doncaster* on Thursday to guard *Selby*, under pretence to meet some pieces of Ordnance and Foot companies comming from *Hull*, to guard them to *Doncaster* least they should be intercepted by the Cavaliers, but Serjeant Major Gifford who had the chiefe command of the 400 men, two pieces of Battery, and eight field pieces, marched

from *Howden* on Friday morning towards *Selby*, and Master *Hotham* marched that morning also from his quarter neare *Hatfield* with 400: Foot and two field Pieces on that side the *River*, and kept the Cavaliers in continuall Alarme on both sides the River, where they had divers Dragoneers to stoppe Serjeant Maior *Gifford* passage, and at the same time sent forth of his Troupes from *Doncaster* towards the Towne and Castle of *Pontfrait* to keepe them in suspence and feare, whereby to hinder them that they might not send any of their Forces to hinder them from the taking in of *Selby*, which is a towne of great concernment, standing upon a River that goes to this Citie, so that they have the command of all Barques and Boates that come to this Citie, they can have supply from *Hull* upon all occasions, and are within 12. miles off *Yorke*, and nine miles off *Pontfrait*, Master *Francis Nevile* and *Benson* the Attorney are the notoriously actors in all designes against the Parliament. There is much report come hither that there is a Treaty concluded of by the Lord *Fairfax*, and sir *William Savile*, &c. at *Leeds*, disadvantagious to the Parliament, at which we much wonder, but we conceive Master *Hotham* will not be obliged by that agreement, besides the Lord *Fairfax* hath done it with submission to the Parliament; the Cavaliers parte pretend they doe all for peace, though their accommodations speake contrary, they plunder divers mens houses whom they are pleased to call Roundheads, and take their Armes and Plate and other things. The report here is, and so it is come from Court to the Councellors at *Pontfrait* (of which they bragge sufficiently) that Prince *Robert* hath cut off six Troops, drowned one Troope, and routed three Troopes of the Parliament Forces, and this is divulged for a truth by them, and confirmed with many bloody oathes. This Citie is much affrighted at Master *Hothams* approaching so neare unto it, they are arming to defend themselves, and have sent for the Troops from *Pontfrait*; it was the High Sheriffes Dragoneers and Sir *John Gotherichs* Troope that kild Sir *John Saviles* two men; Newes is come to this Citie that Sir *Robert Heron* High Sheriffe of the County of *Lincolne* was apprehended by Sir *Anthony Irby* a Parliament man, and so unruly that they were enforced to tie him in a Cart with ropes and carry him to *Boston*.

Westchester,

Worcester, Septemb. 19. [illegible]

Here we rechined his Majesty with Bels ringing, and all the expressions of joy that the Town could shew, and entertained the King with a bonfire: the Prince with 1000 men for Wales, at his departure took away some Knights and Gentlemen with him prisoners to *Shrewsbury*, which makes many here now wish that they had stood upon their defence, as *Manchester* doth, of whom we hear this day, that they have valiantly defended themselves against the Lord *Strange* and all his Forces, having in a sally slain three foure Captaines, and above 30. more, and some speak of a far greater number, We wanted their courage and joyn agreement.

Westminster, Octob. [illegible]

At a Conference of both Houses, a Letter was read from his Excellency, to the Earle of *Holland*, declaring that he had received the Petition which both Houses sent to him to present to his Majesty, that he had writ to the Earle of *Dorset* about it, who returned him answer, that he had moved the King in it, who said he would not stop his eares to Petitioners, but would receive none from any that were accused, Whereupon his Excellency hath written to know what the Parliament will have done further therein, and at the Conference it was referred to the House of Commons.

Newcastle, Michaelmas day.

The Towne hath been in a great feare this week, by reason of the Parliament Ships taking of 2, Ships under the command of Captain *Kettleby*, and Captain *Stradling*, who diserted the service against the Rebels in *Ireland*, and came to serve against the Parliament, they were taken at Tinmouth without any shot or resistance, for the Saylors mutined, and would not be imployed against the Parliament; these Ships were designed to fetch her Majesty over, as also the Cavaliers that were to come with her; It is much feared in this Town, that the 6. Ships that lie there, will land these men, and take the Fort at *Shields*, and march up to this Town, our Delinquent Magistrates are in great feare of it.

Kingsale, Septemb. 24. 1642.

The 16. with the addition of the 19. advised upon at large, of the great wonders the Lord did for us, the Victory on the 3. present at *Lisfarrell* Castle, where a body of eight thousand Foote, and seven hundred Horse, the Castle to finde 3. piece of Ordnance in battery, mounted

mounted breast works drawn, or much fortified as humane art could devise, were in open day set upon by fourteen hundred Foot, and Horse, naked men, most of their sicke, ill disarmed, and of the 1700, but 400. Musketiers: came to fight, and that routed those which were obtained upon only the Lord *Kilmalo* was armed, and he only slain, of Horsemen in all we lost but 4. only, and of the enemy slain 700. as left upon the place, and 1000. mortally wounded, Colonell *Fowler* taken prisoner, and five all other Commanders, and besides the Ordnance, ammunition, & Armes brought away; from which *Sir Charles Vavasour* hath sent forth a party of Horse & Foot from his Garrison of *Bandon*, under the Command of Captain *Chidley*, who were environed with 5. times their own number, yet came bravely off with the losse of 2. men, killed many of the enemies, brought away 200. Cowes, 400. Sheep, and about 60. Horse.

London Printed for *H. Blunden*, 1643.

The Town hath been in a great fear this week, by reason of the Irish men of Warre, a Ship under the command of Captain Crosby, and Captain Swanley, who discovered the fleet against the Downs in Kent, and came to serve against the Parliament, they were taken at Tinmouth without any shot or resistance, for the Sayler mastered (would not be employed against the Parliament) the Ships were designed to fetch her Majesty over, as also the Cannons that were to come with her; it is much feared in this Town, that the 6. Ships that lie there, will land their men, and take the Fort at Tilbury, and march up to this Town, our Diligent Magistrates are in great fear of it.

Aprill, 3. 1643.

The 16. with the addition of the 19. advices upon a large, of the great wonders the Lord did for us, the Victory on the 3. present at Newcastle, where a body of eight thousand Foote, and seven hundred Horse, the Castle to made 3. piece of Ordnance in battery

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A true and exact

RELATION

OF THE

KINGS

Entertainment

IN

The City of Chester.

WITH

The Recorders *Speech* at His entring the City.

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ent from a Citizen of note in Chester, *on purpose to be printed, to prevent false Copies.*

LONDON,
Printed for *C. M.* October 4.
1642.

Chester E
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BRITISH MUSEUM

WITH

The Recorders Speech at His
riding the City.

LONDON,
Printed for C. W. October 4,
16[illegible].

A True and Exact Relation of the Kings Entertainment in the City of *Chester*.

THe King came to *Chester* from *Salop* upon Friday about five of the clock, but He brought in with him no great company; The Lord *Rivers*, Lord *Cholmley*, and Sir *Thomas Ashton* came each of them with a Troop of horse to wait on his Majestie into the Citie, besides those that came with him, there went out of the Citie to *Boughton* about forty that had been Sheriffs, and some others on horse-back and foot-cloaths, and rid before Him into the Citie, and at the Hony-stayrs there was a Scaffold made for the Aldermen to stand, and receive him (as they had done his Father before time) and they kneeled down, and the Recorder made a Speech or Oration to the King, not such a one as is conceived much to his credit,

Your father promiſed to ſend you a Copy that you may print it to his ſhame, for I take it, he is ſo full of malice and pride, and but an ignorant man in his owne profeſſion, and ſo for preſent leave him. After the Oration, our Major gave the King the Sword, the Mace, and his Staffe, and the King gave them again to him, and the Major got on his horſe and carryed the Sword before the King unto the Biſhops Pallace, where He ſtayed till Tueſday, and departed towards *Salop*, taking *Rexham* in his way, and there dined with Maſter *Lloyd* a Lawyer and the Kings Attorney for *Flintſhire*, and thence to *Salop* where he is.

Our Maior and his Brethren preſented Him with 200^{l} in Gold, and to the Prince 100^{l}: It was well taken, but by the report of ſome, a greater ſum was expected, but thoſe know not our having; for I perſwade my ſelf, before it be collected amongſt the Citizens, it will be thought a very great ſum. His ſtay amongſt us was very peaceable, and his departure very cheereſull: The Ma-

Maior and Aldermen brought him out of the Liberty on horſe-back: It is reported He left a Garriſon amongſt us; but He left none, but onely commanded that 100 of the Countrey Souldiers were put into the Caſtle; but what we ſhall have put upon us I know not; but all thoſe that are not of the Array are obſerved; for ſome of our Country Gentlemen, as Sir *Richard Wilbraham*, Sir *Thomas Delves*, M. *Manwaring* of *Badely*, M. *Wilbraham* of *Darſot*, M. *Berkinhead* the Premotory and his ſon, are all commanded to wait upon the King, and went with him to *Salop*, where they are all yet. And I am informed that ſome have a Commiſſion to ſearch out houſes in *Cheſter*, what for, as yet I know not; but I hear my houſe is ſet down for one to be ſearched; if they plunder not, I do not fear them. We have great ſtore of ſouldiers billetted round about our City, what for, I know not; but they are very unruly & came into many honeſt mens houſes, ſpecially into Miniſters houſes, & take away ſome all, and what they pleaſe of their goods.

Since the Sabbath day laſt, *Manchester* hath

been

been beſieged by my Lord *Strange*, now Lord of *Derby*; for his father lieth dead at his little houſe under St. *Johns*, but we do not know nor heare that he hath taken the Town as yet, neither they yielded. This is all the paſſages that we have at preſent: ſo I end with my prayer to God to bring all theſe troubles to an end. So comitting you to God and reſt.

Cheſter, Octob. 1. 1642.

Out of SHROPSHIRE.

IT is certainly informed by a godly Miniſter not far from *Shrewsbury*, That in one great houſe which the Cavaliers have plundered and pillag'd, they did plainly and openly profeſſe, that they had little to live on, but what they took from others; and that when they went to bed (being about 60 of them) divers of them had Crucifixes hanging about their necks. In another great houſe where they were, they drank a health to the good ſucceſſe of Sir *Phelim ô Neal* in *Ireland*, of the Gentlemans own Beer, and in preſence of himſelf, and divers of his ſervants. Theſe Relations are certain, and will be proved by divers faithfull eye and ear-witneſſes: By which we may ſee how likely theſe men are to maintain the true *Proteſtant* Religion, the Laws of the Land, and lawfull Liberties of the Subjects, whatſoever they pretend. And though they pretend they ſearch only for Armour, yet they break up, and take away whatſoever is worth, or can well be carryed away, and ſpoyl many other things, cutting them to pieces; and many of them (eſpecially in out-towns and villages) where they are billetted, pay nothing for what they have.

M. Re-

Mr. Recorder *Brierwood's*

SPEECH

AT

The Entertainment of the King and Prince at CHESTER, Sept. 23. 1642.

Most gracious Soveraign;

WE *Your Majesties most humble and obedient Subjects, The Maior and Citizens of this Your most ancient City, do in all humility crave leave to take the boldnesse to bid Your Majestie and our most noble Prince, our hoped Earl of* Chester, *welcome to this place; The ancient seat of Your Majestie, and Your Majesties Royall progenitours, Earls of* Chester. *This ancient City, the Metropolis of this ancient County Palatine, though it hath been sometimes honoured by the residence of senior Earls thereof within it; yet it hath seldom (even since) been so highly honoured, as to lodge a King and Prince of this Realm at once within it, though but one night; The honour then, with the accesses of Your Royall person, and of the person of our noble Prince at this time unto this City doth bring*

such

ſuch, that it doth tranſcend all former of this kinde, and doth fill our hearts at once with a great deal of joy and ſecurity: For we are in great fears in regard of the Rebellion in Ireland; *as alſo, in regard of a Malignant party that hath lately appeared amongſt us: But we are as ſenſible, that Your Majeſties preſence expells all dangers, and renders us ſecure from the dangers abroad, and diſtractions at home: And it is, moſt mighty King, the ſatisfaction of all our hearts, that Your Majeſtie hath already ſufficiently teſtified to all the world, Your Majeſties indeered love unto all Your Subjects, and to the Proteſtant Religion, whereof Your Majeſtie is juſtly ſtiled* The great Defender; *and we in this place, in thankfulneſſe to the ſame, will be ever ready to adventure our Lives and Fortunes for the defence of Your Majeſtie, in whoſe ſafety reſted onely our ſecurity.*

And Mr. Maior of this City humbly proſtrate upon his knees, doth according to his duty, ſurrender and yield up to Your excellent Majeſtie all the Authority and Iuriſdiction he holdeth under Your Majeſtie, and with it the Sword of this City, the Enſign thereof: And he and we all of this City ſhall ever pray, Long live King *Charls* victorious over all His Enemies.

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ARTICLES AND Acts of Parliament:

26.

England K

Taken out of the Records of the Tower, shewing how Traytors have seduced the King by wicked Counsell to take him from his Parliament, and to raise warre against them.

Ordered by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, that these Articles and Acts be forthwith Printed and Published.

H. Elsyng Cler. Parl. D. Com.

With the Earle of *Warwickes* taking of great store of Armes and Ammunition, with Money and Plate in foure Coale-shipps which came from the west countries towards Newcastle to ayde his Majesty against the Parliament.

And also a great Fight betweene the Earle of *Warwicke* and a great Fleet of Spanyards at Sea, which were comming against *England*, and how they were taken and dispersed by the said Earle.

And likewise of a French man of Warre taking of a Shippe with Powder and Match, that was comming out of *Holland* to relieve the Protestants in *Ireland*.

Oct: 4 *LONDON*, Printed for *Theophilus Bourne*. 1642.

ARTICLES

AND

Acts of Parliament:

Taken out of the Records of the Tower, shewing how Traytors have seduced the King by wicked Counsell to take him from his Parliaments, and to raise wars against them.

Shewed by the Lord [illegible] assembled in Parliament, that the Articles and Acts [illegible] Passed and Published.

[illegible] Kyng Cler. Parl. D. Com.

BRITISH MUSEUM

With the Earle of Warwicks taking of great store of Armes and Ammunition, with Money and Plate in Tower Ordnance which came from the West coun-tries towards Newcastle to ayde his Majesty against the Parliament.

And also a great fight between the Earle of Warwicke and a great Fleet of Ships and Barks of Scots which were coming against England, and how they were tak en and dispersed by the said Earle.

And likewise of a French man of Warre taking of a Shippe with Powder and Match that was comming out of Holland to relieve the Protestants in France.

LONDON Printed for Thomas Iames, 1642.

Articles and Acts of Parliament, taken out of the Records of the Tower.

Item by the said encroachment, the aforesaid *Alexande* Archbishop of *Yorke*, *Robert de Vere* Duke of Ireland, *Michael de la Poole* Earle of Suffolke *Robert Tresilian* Talle Justice and *Nicholas Brembre* Talle Knight of London, have done that, whereas at the last Parliament, all the Lords and other wise men and Commons there assembled, seeing the losse of the King & his Kingdome imminent, as well for the perils and mischiefes aforesaid, as that the King was departed from the Counsell of the Kingdome, and harkened wholly to the Counsell of the aforesaid malefactors and Traytors as also because the French King with his Royall power was nipt upon the Sea ready to have come into England to destroy the Kingdome and the English tongue, and that no ordinance nor government was then established for the safety of the King nor of the Kingdome, they knew no other remedy, thereupon, but remonstrated unto the King at full, how that he was ill governed counselled, & carred away by the aforesaid Traytors & Malefactors declaring unto him their wicked conditions, and required him most humbly as his loyall subjects for the safety of him, and of his whole Kingdome, and for the avoyding of the perills aforesaid to let go and put from him the aforesaid malefactors and Traytors out of his presence and company, and that he would not doe hereafter according to their wicked Counsells but that he would follow the wise, loyall and discreet men of this Kingdome and thereupon the said Traytors and Malefactors, seeing this good and honorable opinion of the Parliament, and to disturbe their good purposes therein, by their false Counsell caused our Lord the King to command the Major of London to cause a great power of the people of London to bee

ſuddenly levied, for to kill and put to death all the ſaid Lords and Commons except only ſuch as were of their party, at the doing of which wicked act, the ſaid great Malefactors, & Traytors ſhould have been parties & preſent to the deſtruction of the King and all the Realme.

Article 29. *Item*, For to accompliſh this high treaſon aforeſaid by their counſell, the aforſaid *Alexander* Arch-biſhop of Yorke, *Robert Veer* Duke of Ireland and *Michael de la pole* Earle of Suffolke, cauſed the King to ſend his Letrers of Credence to his adverſary, the *French King*: ſome by one *Nicolas Soltmell*, Groome of his Chamber, and ſome by other perſons of meane fortune, as well Aliens as Denizenes, requiring and praying the ſaid French King, that with his power and Councell he would be aiding and aſſiſting to our Lord the King to deſtroy and to put to death the ſaid Lords and other Engliſh, which the King then held his enemies and traitors, as before, to the great diſquiet and trouble of his whole kingdom.

Article 30. *Item*, The aforeſaid *Alexander* Arch-biſhop of York, *Robert de Veere* Duke of Ireland *Michael de la poole* Earle of Suffolke, encroaching unto themſelves Royall Power, cauſed the King to promiſe unto the Freneh King, and his power, for to accompliſh that high treaſon, prodition, and murder, to give and ſurender unto the ſaid French King, the Towne and Caſtle of Calis, and all other Caſtles and Forts in the March of Picardy and Artoys, the Caſtles and Townes of Chirlurge and of Brerte to the great diſhonour, trouble and damage of the King and of his Kingdome.

Article 37. *Item*, the aforeſaid *Alexander* Arch-B. of Yorke *Robert de Vere* Duke of Ireland, *Michaell de la poole* Earle of Suffolke, *Robert Treſilliun* falſe Iuſtice, and *Nicolas Brembre*, falſe Knight of London, malefactors and Trators, during the time of the ſaid protection, to the overthrowing of the ſaid appeale, falſely Counſelled, and cauſed the King to commend by his letters, divers Knights, Eſquires, his Sheriffs, and other his officers of divers Counties, to raiſe & aſſemble all the power that they could to come with the ſaid Duk of Ireland, againſt the aforeſaid, other Lords Appellants, ſuddenly to make war againſt them & diſtroy them.

Article 38. *Item*, During the time of the ſaid Protection, the aforeſaid *Robert de veere* Duke of *Ireland*, *Michael de la poole*, Earle of *Suffolke*, *Alexander* Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, *Nicholas Brembre* falſe Knight of London, cauſed the King by his Letters, to ſignifie to the ſaid Duke of *Ireland*, how that he and others were appealed of Treaſon by the ſaid

Thomas

Thomas Duke of *Gloucester*, Conſtable of England, *Richard* Earle of *Arundell* and *Surrey*, and *Thomas* Earle of *Warwicke*, and how that the King had thereupon given day to the ſaid Parties, with their Men, Goods, and Chattells, into his ſpeciall Protection, and beſides, it was contained in the ſaid Letters of the King, that if the ſaid Duke had ſufficient power, he ſhould not faile to come on with all his aforeſaid Power; and to come to the King, and ſoone after they procured the King, to write unto the ſaid Duke of *Ireland*, that he ſhould take the field with all his power which he could gather together, & that the King would meete him with all his power, and that the King would with him put in hazard his Royall perſon; and the King was in great danger himſelfe and his whole Kingdome, if he were not helped and ſuccoured by the ſaid Duke of Ireland, and that the Duke of Ireland ſhould make knowne this unto all the men that were aſſembled unto him; and that the King would pay all the wages, and charges of the ſaid Duke of Ireland, and of all the men aſſembled by him, by vertue of which Letters, and the malicious and trayterous excitations aſwell of the ſaid Duke, as of his Adherents and all the other malefactors and traytors, the ſaid Duke of Ireland aſſembled a great number of men at Armes and Archers, as well the Counties of Lancaſter, Cheſter, and Wales, as of other places of the Kingdome, to deſtroy, and to put to death the aforeſaid Lords, and all others which were aſſenting to the making of the ſaid Ordinance, Statute & Commiſſion, unto the deſtruction of the King and his Kingdome.

Article 30. *Item* the ſaid *Robert de veere* Duke of Ireland, falſe trayor to the King and Kingdom, aſſembled a great power of men at Armes, and Archers of the Counties of Lancaſter, Cheſter, and Wales; and of divers other places, to the intent to have traiterouſly deſtroyed ſo far as in him lay, the Lord *Thomas* Duke of Gloceſter Conſtable of England, *Henry* Earle of Darby, *Richard* Earle of Arundell and Surrey, *Thomas* Earle of Warwicke, and *Thomas* Earle Marſhall, and other Loyall Subjects of our Lord the King, as well to the deſtruction and anni ation of our Lord the King, and of his whole kingdome; and ſo heride with great power and force of men at Armes, and Archers from the County of Cheſter through the Kingdome, till he came neere to a certaine place, which place is called *Rotcotbrioge*, neere to *Cotſwold*, encroaching to himſelfe Royall Power, cauſed the banner of the King to be diſplayed in his company, contrary to the dignity of the King and of his Crowne, at which time the ſaid Duke of Ireland and his Company, were by the grace of God, diſappointed of their wicked purpoſe.

Memo-

Memorandum. That the ſame Roll containing the petition of the aforeſaid appeal diſtinguiſhed by Articles as above by quotation is marked, was delivered in the preſent Parliament, by the aforeſaid Duke, and Earls appelants; and *Memorand.* that afterwards in the ſame Parliament, the 1. 2. 11. 15. 17. Articles aforeſaid are declared, and adiudged treaſon, and every one one of them is declared and adiudged treaſon, And that which is contained in the 22. Article of the aforeſaid Articles concerning the levying of men, to make war and deſtroy the Lords & Lieges of the King is likewiſe declared and adiudged treaſon. And that the 28. 29. 30. 31. 22. 37. 38. 39. Articles aforeſaid are alſo declared and adiudged Treaſon, and every one of them is declared and adjudged treaſon as is ſett downe in the Record and the proceſſe annexed and affixed to this Roll on the back ſide of the ſaid Roll by theſe words *quelle petition in preſence du Royne dit Sr, &c.*

This judgment was confirmed by Act of Parliament, 11. R. 2 ca. 3. 1 H. 4. ca. 3. and 4. of the old printed ſtatutes and the ſaid ſtatute 1 H. 4. repeales and makes void the Parliament of 21. R. 2. and all the proceedings thereof, in which forced and tumultuary Parliament, the Acts of the Parliament of 11. R. 2. had been reverſed.

Of the Earle of VVarwicks taking of great ſtore of Armes and Ammunition.

THe Earle of *Worwicke* having received letters from the Parliament, informing him that they have received certaine information that there are preparations made, both in *France* and *Spaine* for warre, and that great forces are raiſed in thoſe Countries, which as it is conceived upon juſt cauſe are intended either to relieve the Rebels in *Ireland*, or to aſſiſt the King in His War againſt the Parliament. The ſaid Earle repaired towards *Calis* where it is reported that a great Army are raiſed, and lye in a readineſſe for ſome great deſigne intended by the *French* King, which the ſaid Earle hopes to diſcover, that thereby the better meanes might be uſed to deſeate their wicked purpoſes: And although

though we have not heard the certainty of that discovery, yet this we are sure of, that his Lordship hath done very lately speciall service for the King and Parliament, for on Saterday the 17. of *September*, foure shippes like unto Cole shippes were discerned by the Earle of *Warwicke*, sayling towards Newcastle whereupon his Lodship sent out two good shippes to discover whence they were, and meeting with them they strooke sayle and pretended that they were going to Newcastle for Coales which they intended to bring to the Cittie of *London*, but in regard they were farre from the coasts and had much varied from the usuall compasse, which our Marryners use to passe in upon that service, the said Earles shippes rested not satisfied with their pretended answers, but boarded the said ships knowing that it was both a safe and sure way to search what was therein, and certainely to know what they were, upon which search they found in the said shipps great store of Armes and Ammunition, with about foure hundred Lasts of powder, and a great quantity of Plate and money, but very few passengers, none being in the shippes but the Officers and Saylors, which refused to shew their Commission or to make knowne from whence they came; whereupon they were stayed and brought to the Earle of *Warwick* to be further examined and there to remaine untill he shal receive further directions from the Parliament how to dispose of them; for it is supposed that it was such prouision as have beene raised by the Papists and other of the malignant party in the West Countrey, and were going to Newcastle to ayde the King against the Parliament.

It appeares that the Earle of *Warwicke* is very vigilant and watchfull to keepe out all forraine enemies, from invading this Kingdome, for about the same time that the before mentioned foure shipps were taken by his Lordshippe, there was discovered uppon the Coast of *England* nere unto *Plymouth* a great Navy upon the Sea, but it could not be discerned what they were, and the next day being Thursday in the evening a great battell was heard to be fought upon the Sea, and therefore we conceive that it was the Spanish fleete that lay at Dunkirke, or the French which were comeing either to aide his Majestie against the Parliament, or to assist the Rebells in *Ireland*, but is most probable that they came against England because it is reported that they have sent store of powder and Ammunition to *Ireland* already which the Protestants there want by reason of the taking of a shipp latly laden with pouder and match by a

French

French man of warr that was comeing out of *Holland* into *Ireland* to supply the want of those things amongst the Protestants there, but I shall say noe more of that for I doubt not but the Parliament will cause the French King to make restitution thereof, and it is conceived that the Earle of Warrwicke hath either sunke and taken a great part of this fleete and ent the rest home againe with such an overthrow that they will be glad to stay in harbour all this winter, for the fight continued about 3. or 4. houres, but the successe thereof is not as yet certainly knowne, yet we doubt not but the event will every way answere our expectations.

FINIS.

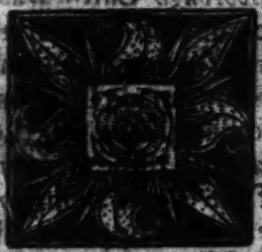
CERTAINE

INTELLIGENCE FROM YORKE

Concerning the Meeting of that County, both for the *Militia* and Commission of *Array*, with severall passages on both sides, and their Articles of agreement between both, for the present setling the peace in that County.

Dated at YORKE *September the last.*

Together with the taking of two Ships at *Newcastle* by the Earle of *Warwicke*.



LONDON,

Printed for *H. Blunden*, 1642.

Yorke the last of Septemb. 1642.

M. Tho. Thecher,

KInd sir, yours I received, and give you many thanks for the news you made me partaker of this Post. Here incloſed I ſend you the particulars of your kuatels, for proviſion for receiving and ſhipping I put down nothing, allow what you pleaſe, both to me and your ſelfe, for thoſe goods of that nature by us diſpoſed of. Here we have had a diſtracted Countie, the Gentry banding together in parties one againſt another; the Communalty on both ſides generally loath to obey one ſide or other. *Pomfrait*-Caſtle, and *Knasborough*-Caſtle was ſeiſed on by the Lord Generals command, the Earle *Cumb.* ſome few of every Regiment was got together for the Array, the Muſqutteers they made Dragoneers of, the Pikemen was ſent home againe. The Lord *Faireſax* kept himſelfe in *Leeds* with thoſe Gentry of his party, the communalty of the Town being wholly at his command, and able to have oppoſed all the Forces that was raiſed againſt him; Sir *Iohn Savill* comming to *Leeds* to the reſt of the Gentry on his party, was betrayed by interception of a Letter, and was met in a

Lane

Lane by two Troops of Horſe, who bid him yeeld as a Traytor, which he oppoſing and refuſing whilſt breath was in him to yeeld to that name, the Troops diſcharged upon his Company, being about thirty Horſe, and kild two of his ſervants, and tooke him and ſome others priſoners to *Pomfrait* Caſtle, but upon a treaty betwixt the gentry he was againe delivered within a day or two, and a new treaty propounded which was met yeſterday at *Leeds*, where both ſides have agreed to lay downe the *Array* and *Militia*, and to countenance neither, but joyntly to defend and preſerve the peace of the County, till a way be agreed on by both King and Parliament for ſetling the ſame in a legall way. The Articles I have ſent you, and the coppy of a Letter from Prince *Robert* to His Majeſty, with the relation of the Gentleman that carried it to the King, concerning a great skirmiſh between Prince *Robert* with eleven Troops, and ſome Horſe of the King and Parliaments Forces neere *Worceſter*, which were wholly routed, as appeares by it, the newes concerning it with you being farre different; but we hope yours from *London* is a true relation, of which I pray write the truth by the firſt Poſt, and that you will continue your intelligence as occaſion ſerves. Thus with my beſt wiſhes for the peace of the Kingdome in generall, I commit you to God, and reſt, Yours to command,

Philip Ford.

Juſt now at 9 of the clocke at night the Drums are beating up, it is reported that Sir *John Hotham* hath ſome forces come out, and are neere this City, within 4. houres march. *Vale*,

It is agreed that the Treaty concluded this present 29. of *September*, 1642. being *Michaelmas* Day.

1. THat all Forces assembled together in any part of *Yorkeshire*, or County or City of *Yorke*, shall be disbanded, all those under the conduct of Captaine *Hotham*, now in *Doncaster*, and all other Forces in any other part of the County under any other Commanders belonging to the Garrison at *Hull* shall retire to *Hull* with all speed possible, and the said Captain *Hotham* shall beginne to march from *Doncaster* towards *Hull*, upon Saturday night.

2. It is agreed that no hostile, or violent act shall hereafter be done by the Garrison at *Hull*, either directly or indirectly by pretence of any aide or assistance whatsoever, upon the persons of any men within the County of *Yorke*, or within the County or City of *Yorke*, upon their goods, either in the aforesaid, or in the County of *Kingstone* upon *Hull*.

3. It is agreed that the Commission of *Array*, and the Orders or Ordinance of Parliament for the *Militia* be wholly suspended in this County, untill such times as some course be agreed upon for the ordering of the *Militia* by the King and Parliament, and this without disputing either the legality, or the illegallity of either, but as finding neither of them so necessary at this time, as for the settling them on foot to involve this great County in blood.

4. It

4. It is agreed that no Command be imposed upon this County, but such as are legall and presidented in good times.

5. It is agreed that no armed Forces whatsoever shall be suffered to enter this County in a hostile manner, by vertue of any pretence or command whatsoever, and they which shall attempt to doe it, the whole County shall rise against them with force as enemies against peace to be suppressed.

6. It is agreed that if any carriages for household, either of the King or Queenes, be to passe this County, that to prevent all other armed Forces under pretence of such a conduct to come amongst us, we shall take order to see them quietly conducted by the Sheriffe of the County, with such a convoy as he shall appoint and we like, and with no other, and if it shall happen the Queens Majesty shall returne out of *Holland* through this County, we shall humbly beseech Her Majesty to forbeare the bringing with Her any multitude of armed Forces, but to believe that we shall waite upon Her Majesty, with such a honorable Convoy as shall fit our duty, and Her Honour.

7. It is agreed that if any warlike provision be desired, to be passed this Country for his Majesty service that we shall humbly petition His Majesty, that he would be pleased to convoy the same some other way, being it may be an occasion of interrupting our peace.

8. It is agreed, that none shall be arrested in this County as Delinquents to either party, but by a legall peaceable and quiet way, that is, by the legall Officers and their assistants onely, and not by armed

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8. It is agreed, that none shall be arrested in this County as Delinquents to either party, but by a legall peaceable and quiet way, that is, by the legall Officers and their assistants onely, and not by armed

men and Souldiers, who may be an occasion to bring fire amongst us.

9. It is agreed that a generall amity be made betwixt all the Gentry and others of this County, of all former unkindnesses, and differences that have been bread by these unhappy distractions, and that wee hereafter will be as one man to defend one another, according to the Law, against all others, leaving all offences to be punished by the Law of the Land, and not by force and violence.

10. it is agreed that whosoever in this County, shall be made to appeare either to be the auhor, contriver or assister, to the burning of Sir *Edward Rodes* his house, or pillaging any other mans house in this County, we shall all see them (if they be able) to make reparation, and however to be brought to Justice.

11. It is agreed, that it is intended by disbanding of the Armies, that His Majesty shall have all liberty for the removing of all such Cannon and munition, as he hath in this County.

12. It is agred, that all the Armes which do belong to any of the trained Bands of this County, which hath been taken from them since the 12. of this instant *September* by either party, shall be presently restored, and that Captaine *Hotham* shall leave behind him when he returnes into *Hull*, all those brasse Peeces belonging to His Majesty, which are now in *Doncaster*, except such as he himselfe brought thither himselfe from *Hull*.

13. It is agreed, that no further Forces shall during this difference betwixt King and Parliament, be either raised in, or paid by this County, for his waste,

other

other then such as are all ready levied, and really raised, and all such also presently to goe out of this County, without raising any more.

14. It is agreed, that a humble remonstrance, and Declaration of these our Resolutions we presently send, both to the King and Parliament accompanied with a humble petition from us all; that according as we all have unanimously agreed for our particular peace, so they would be pleased so far to commiserate this distracted Kingdome, to doe the same for generall peace of the whole.

Signed by the Comitty for the Treaty.

Henry Bellasses. — *Sr. Thomas Fairfax.*
Sr. William Savill. — *Sr. Thomas Malmerer.*
Sr. Edward Osburne. — *Sr. William Lister.*
Sr. John Ramsden. — *William White.*
John Hopton. — *Thomas Stockdale.*
Francis Nevill.

From *Newcastle.*

Loving Cosin,

BY the last Post I heard not from you, I trust in God that you and yours are well; having time I cannot omit writing to you. Our Town begins to be sore infected with the Plague, it is dispersed in divers parts thereof, and (as I heare) increaseth; the Lord in mercy looke upon us, and stay it, if it be his will, and prevent and keepe from us that other judgement of the sword which hangs over our heads and threatneth us so sore. There-

There came upon Monday last before our Haven two great Ships, the Captaines and other Officers came to this Towne for victuals, and other provision for them, saying they came for the King, the Captaines having done their randisvouze here, returned to their ships, the Beefe, Beere, Bread, and other provisions were to follow, the which was accordingly performed and sent from hence the next day; but before the said provision was all laid aboard, six of the ships set out by the Parliament came and surrounded them, and sent to the Captaines to know whether they would yeeld or not, which they accordingly did without any shot at all, so that they sailed from thence together the same day like loving friends, and most of the Provisions came to this Town againe. By which you may see how things go. It is reported here that there will be eight or nine thousand men sent from your City to take this town, but I trust that report is not true.

FINIS.

28.

AN ORDINATION AND DECLARATION

England. Parliament K.

Of both Houſes of PARLIAMENT ſent to the Lord Maior of London, for the religious obſervation of the Lords Day, commonly called SUNDAY.

And a command from the Maior, directed to all Church-wardens and Conſtables, in every Ward in the City of LONDON, for the due execution thereof.

Alſo concerning the Election of certaine new Captaines choſen for the ſecurity of the City, in theſe dangerous times, with the names of the ſaid Captaines, choſen for the New Militia.

Alſo a Relation of a late tumult, happening in Chancery Lane, by certaine Gentlemen of Lincolnes-Inne, to the great diſturbance and amazement of all the Inhabitants.

Qrto: 4d

H. Elſing. Cler. Parl. D.C.

London, Printed for *Iohn Hawes*. 1642.

AN ORDINATION AND DECLARATION

Of both Houses of PARLIAMENT

for the Lord Major of London, for the religious observation of the Lords Day,

commonly called SUNDAY.

And a command from the Major, directed to all Church-wardens and Constables for diligent search and Watch in the City of LONDON, for the due execution thereof.

Also concerning the Election of certaine new Captaines chosen for the Lourdy of the City, in these dangerous times, with the names of the Captaines chosen for the New Militia.

Also a Relation of a late tumult, happening in Chancery Lane, by certaine Gentlemen of Lincolns-Inne, for the great disturbance and annoyance of all the inhabitants.

London, Printed for John Harris, 1642.

An Ordinance and Declaration of both Houses of Parliament, sent to the Lord Maior of London, for the Religious observation of the Lords day commonly called SUNDAY.

THe good of the Common-wealth, consisting in the due and religious conformity to the lawes both of God and the King, which the Parliament, hath and doth with vigilant and exact care, seeke to promote by their prudent and pious Consultations, they considering that nothing is more pleasing to God, and consonant to the Protestant Religion, than the carefull keeping of the Lords day, and vindicating it from the abuses which are commonly committed by prophane persons, who despise all order and regular government concordant to the purity of Religion, have heretofore formerly sought to keepe it pure and entire from all prophanation, and the Maior of this Honourable City of London, duely weighing the premises aforesaid, being the religious observation of the Lords day, hath carefully tooke order for the same through all parishes, as may appeare by his speciall command hereunto annexed.

And as the feare of God is the beginning of wisdome, & strength unto a Nation & Kingdome, prayer and supplication unto God, with the observation of

the Sabboth day, being the internall meanes to avert the imminent dangers now threatning this Land, so the vigilant care of the Citie, considering the present distractions of the times, and the disorderly tumults of ill-affected persons, as that in Chancery lane, and endevouring to restraine all eruptions and civill mutinies, engaging the City into common danger, have therefore, for the more assurance, and safety of the City, lately chosen and elected divers worthy and well-affected Captaines, for extraordinary Military service upon any emergent occasion, in whose knowledge, vigilancy, and fidelity, they do for the better security of the City, much confide.

The Names of these men elected Captaines, being underneath inserted.

The Names of the Colonels, Lievtenant Colonels, Serjeant Majors and Captaines, appointed by both Houses of Parliament, for the ordering and governing of the New Militia for the preservation of the City of London.

Captaine *Venn*, Captaine *Manering*, Colonels; Captaine *Rot*, Captaine *Bradley*, Lievtenant Colonels; Captaine *Burton* Captaine *Shepheard* Serjeant Majors.

The Captaines Names.

Captaine *Sanders*.
Capt. *Basse*.
Capt. *Sanborne*,
Capt. *Hanes*.
Capt. *Langham*.
Capt. *Pain*.
Capt. *Lane*.
Capt. *Andrewes*.
Capt. *Backstead*.
Capt. *Pitchon*.
Capt. *Starkhouse*.
Capt. *Simmons*.
Capt. *Player*.
Capt. *Wilson*.

An Order from the Lord Maior of London.

FOraſmuch as the Lords-day, commonly called Sunday, is of late much broken and prophaned by a diſorderly ſort of people, by frequenting Tavernes, Ale-houſes, and the like, and in carrying and putting to ſale victuall and other things, and in executing unlawfull games and paſtimes, to the great diſhonour of God and reproach of Religion, whereof the Houſe of Commons now aſſembled have been pleaſed to take notice, and by their Order intimation hath been given, That the Statutes for the due obſerving of the Sabbath be put in execution. Theſe are therefore in His Majeſties name to will and require you, forthwith upon the ſight hereof, that you give ſtrict charge and command unto all and every the Church-wardens and Conſtables within your ward, that from henceforth they doe not permit or ſuffer any perſon or perſons in the time of divine ſervice, or at any time upon the Sunday other then at dinner or ſupper-time onely to be drinking in any Taverne, Inne, or Tobacco-ſhop, Ale houſe, or other victualling houſe whatſoever, nor ſuffer any Fruiterers or Hearbe-women to ſtand with Fruit, Hearbes, or other victuall or wares in any Streetes, Lanes, or Allyes within your Ward, or any other wayes to put theſe things,

or any other to ſale upon the Sunday at any time of the day, or in the evenings of any like woman to cry milke on that day in any the ſtreets or places aforeſaid, nor to permit or ſuffer any perſon to uſe or exerciſe upon that day their labour in unlading their veſſels of fruit, or any other goods, or in carrying goods on ſhoare, or in the ſtreets, or in packing and loading any goods, or to doe any unlawfull exerciſes and paſtimes within your Wards and that expreſſe charge be given to every keeper of any Taverne, Inne, Cooks ſhop, Tobacco-houſe, Ale-houſe, or any other Tipler or Victualler whatſoever within your Ward, that hereafter they receive not or ſuffer to remaine any perſon or perſons whatſoever, as their gueſts or cuſtomers, to tipple, eat, drinke, or take Tabacco in their houſes upon any Sunday, other then that Inholders may receive their ordinary gueſts or Travellers, and ſuch like, who come or remaine for a time in their Inne for diſpatch of their neceſſary buſineſſe according to the Lawes of this Kingdome: And if any perſon or perſons ſhall be found offending in the premiſſes, that then they be brought before me the Lord Major, or ſome other of His Majeſties Iuſtices of the Peace within this City to them, they may receive ſuch puniſhment as the Lawes doe preſcribe, or as to Juſtice ſhall appertaine. And hereof not to faile, as you will anſwer the contrary at your perill. This 37. day of *September*. 1642.

A

A Relation of a late Tumult happening in Chancery-Lane by certain Gentlemen of *Lincolnes-Inne*.

IT might as well as the day is not exempted from nefarious practices; for on the fasting-day night the 28 of *September*, at 11 or 12 a clock, 9 or 10 Gentlemen would violently have attempted to set fire on the Court of Guard-house in Chancery-lane, taking thence away divers boards: but by the sudden confluence and flocking together of many of the Inhabitants of the Lane, they were disturbed in their intent and opposed, so that they conglomerated and gathered together to the number of 20 or 25, threatning sudden destruction to all opposers. *Mr. Lee* an Apothecary being a spectator of this beginning mutiny, came downe to give Captaine *Browne* information thereof, and desire his assistance. Who replyed that there were at the Exchange of the City forces, but knew not whether he should meet them opportunely or no; and therefore he would beat up his Drums for security of his owne men, while these dissentious continued, and matters were in the heate of agitation. Captaine Lieutenant *Flames* led 60 or 80 men into the Lane, not advancing any further, because he had certaine information of iminent danger and destruction. This doubtfull retraction in the Captaine animated one *John Keene* a Cooke to be forward in his delight, desiring his staffe out of his hand, and promising to leade them up boldly to the Gates of Lincolnes-Inne, to affront and suppresse the said Delinquents: Whereupon, by his earnest perswasion, and forward preferring of himselfe, the Captaine at his instigation resigned and delivered him up his staffe, who with a valiant

resolution

resolution conducted his men forward with his sword drawn and elevated in his hand, victoriously capeivating 5 of the delinquents opponents prisoners, who had formerly transported by their owne unjust passion, which blinds judgement, inflicted disgracefull punishment on his man, insomuch as they pumpt him most opprobriously for a trespasse of words, in saying, that the house that was building in Jack-an-apes-lane, and in Chancery-lane, was a Court of Guard-house: Whereupon they presently carried him away, and in executing on him their punishment of pumping, they upbraided him with many menacing cominations, saying, that they would instruct his ignorance in the definition and nature of a Court of Guard-house, and teach him to know what it was, and after many bitter and reviling speeches, their anger being growne outragious, they conveyed him to the pump and pumpt him, which disgrace reflecting on his Master must needs irritate and incense him much by this indignity thus offered in this conflict and sudden mutiny, he said, *John Ross* was wounded in both his shoulders, the Inhabitants by this unexpected tumult were put into a great distraction, fears and murmurs being alwayes the consequents of such temerarious rash actions; but because they were afraid to give impediment to their trading, that private interest stopt the clamour and activity of this disordered eruption of the Gentlemen, and the various accidents aforesaid, though most certaine and too lately done, were silenced. Thus discontentments, though long stifled, daily breake out in this Kingdome.

FINIS.

A

Pro

V

Fourteen

ARTICLES OF PEACE.

Propounded to the King and Parliament by the Gentry and Commonalty of the County of *York*: being subscribed to by these Knights and Gentlemen, whose names are here specified, in the name of all the Gentry and Commonalty of the said County.

VVherein is contained their Resolution to maintain the peace of that County against all those that shall endeavour to disturb it.

Also the Copie of a Letter sent from Prince Robert *to His Majesty.*

LONDON,
Printed for E. Blackmore. *Octo.* 4. 1642.

BRITISH MUSEUM

Fourteen ARTICLES OF PEACE.

1. THat all Forces assembled together in any part of Yorkshire, our Countie or City of York, shall be disbanded, and all those under the conduct of Cap. *Hotham*, now in *Doncaster*, and all other Forces in any other part of the Countie, under any other Commanders, belonging to the Garrison at Hull, shall retire to Hull with all speed possible, and the said Cap. *Hotham* shall begin to march from *Doncaster* towards *Hull* on Saterday next.

2. It is agreed that no hostile or violent act shall hereafter be done by the Garrison at *Hull*, either directly or indirectly, by pretence of any aid or assistance whatsoever, upon the persons of any men within the Countie of York, or within the Countie or Citie of York, either upon the goods either in the Countie aforesaid, or in the Countie of *Kingstone* upon *Hull*.

3. It

3. It is agreed the Commiſſion of Array and orders or ordinances of Parliament for the *Militia*, be wholly ſuſpended in this Countie, untill ſuch time as ſome courſe be agreed upon for the ordering of the *Militia* for the King and Parliament, and this without diſputing the legality or illegality of either, but as finding neither of them ſo neceſſary at this time as for the ſetting them on foot to involve this great County in bloud.

4. It is agreed that no Commiſſion be impoſed upon this County, but ſuch as are legall, and preſented in good termes.

5. It is agreed that no Ammunition, Forces whatſoever, ſhall be ſuffered to enter the Countie in a hoſtile manner, by vertue of any Pretence or Command whatſoever, and they who ſhall attempt to doe it, the whole Countie ſhall riſe againſt them with force, as enemies againſt Peace, to be ſuppreſſed.

6. It is agreed that if any carriage for the Houſhold either of the King or Queene be to paſſe this Couutie, that to prevent all other armed Forces under pretence of ſuch a conduct to come amongſt us, we ſhall take order to ſee them quietly conducted by the Sheriffe of the Countie with ſuch a Convoy as he ſhall appoint, & we like, and with no others. And if it ſhall happen the Queens Majeſty ſhall return out of *Holland* through this County, that we ſhall humbly beſeech her Majeſtie to forbear bringing with her any multitude of armed Forces, but to beleeve we ſhall wait upon her Majeſty with ſuch a ſafe, honourable, and quiet Convoy, as ſhall befit our duty and her honour.

7. It is agreed that if any warlike proviſion be deſired to be paſſed this County, that he would be pleaſed

to convey the ſame ſome other way, being it may be an occaſion to interrupt our peace.

8. It is agreed that none ſhall be arreſted in this Countie as delinquents for either partie, but a legall, peaceable, and quiet way, that is, by the legall officers, and their Aſſiſtants onely, and not by armed men and ſouldiers, who may be an occaſion to bring fire amongſt us.

9. It is agreed that whoſoever in this Countie ſhall be made appeare, either to be the author, contriver, or aſſiſting to the burning or pillaging Sir *Edward Rodes* houſe, or any other mans houſe in the Countie, we ſhall ſee them if they be able to make reparation, and however to be brought to juſtice.

10. It is agreed that a generall amity be made beween all the Gentlemen and others of this Countie of all former unkindneſſes and differences that have been bred by theſe unhappy diſtractions, and that we hereafter will all be as one man to defend one another according to the Law, againſt all others, leaving all offences to be puniſhed by the law of the Land, and not by force or violence.

11. It is agreed that it is intended by disbanding of the Armies, that his Majeſtie ſhall have all liberty for the removing all Canons and Ammunition, as he hath in this Countie.

12. It is agreed that all the Arms which do belong to any of the Trained Bands of this County, which have had taken from them ſince 21. of this inſtant *Septemb.* by either partie, ſhall be preſently reſtored, and that Cap. *Hotham* ſhall leave behind him, and when he returnes into *Hull*, all thoſe Braſſe Peeces belonging to his

his Majesty, which is now in *Doncaster*, excepting such as he himselfe brought thither from *Hull*.

13. It is agreed that no further Forces shall (during this difference betwixt the King and Parl.) be either raised in or payed by this County for this warre, other then such as shall be already levied or really raised, and as such also presently to goe out of this County without raising any more.

14. It is agreed that a humble Remonstrance & Declaration of these our Resolutions be presently sent both to the King and Parliament, accompanied with a humble Petition from us all, that according as we have all unanimously agreed for our particular peace, so they would be pleased so far to commiserate this distracted Kingdome to doe the same for the peace of the whole.

Henry Bellace.	*Francis Nevill*
William Savill.	*Tho: Fairfax.*
Edw. Osborne.	*Tho: Maliverey.*
Iohn Romsden.	*Will. Lyster.*
Iohn Hopton.	*Tho. Stockdall.*

A True Coppy of a LETTER sent by Prince RUPERT to His MAJESTIE.

SIR,

THe Bearer will with all the Circumstances tell Your Majesty our Proceedings at Worcester I shall onely say this, That upon Your Majesties Commands to succour the Town, we went thither with our Forces and found the Rebels on both sides of the Town, no Ammunition, nor nothing fitting to entertain so great a Force as the Lord of *Essex* would have brought that Night. But all things in so great a disorder, that certainly we had all been lost, had we not by a great chance met with 10. Troops of their horse, and five of their Dragooners, which we did entirely rout, and killed most of their chiefest Officers. The Manner and the Names, I leave for the said Bearer to tell you. Your Majesty will be pleased to accept this, as a beginning of Your Officers and my Duty, and I doubt not, as (certainly) they behaved themselves all very bravely and gallantly, that hereafter Your Majesty shall finde the same behaviour against a more considerable number. Of this Your Majesty may be very confident, as also of the endeavours of

SIR,

Your Majesties

Most Obedient Nephew and humble Servant,

RUPERT.

From *Bobfort* this 24. of *Sept.* 1642

Sir, *This Gentleman hath behaved himselfe so gallantly, That I must needes humbly desire your Majesty, to Knight him; which will encourage him and all others to continue the Affection for Your Service.*

The Circumstances Related by Master CRANE who is Knighted. He is (I heare) Prince RUPERTS Cornett.

THat at the first Charge, Prince *Rupert*, Prince *Maurice*, Master *Foxe*, and two more, charged and defeated a Troop, whom they knew not to be enemies till they were upon them, by their Orange colour Scarfes.

That seven Cornets are taken, some I saw.

That severall Officers are kild on their side, particularly, *Douglas* and *Sandis*, that the last repented before his Death, for having borne Arms against the King.

That severall Men are taken: as Captain *Wingat* of the House of Commons, and others.

That we have but three kild in all.

That but three of ours of quality have beene hurt; *Mr. Welmott* in the back, and the worst of any: but yet he marches in a coach and is merry, Sir *Lewis Dives* through the Shoulder. *Mr. Byron* (a Brother of Sir *Johns*) over the Face. I heare he hath said, That Prince *Maurice* is a little hurt, but I understood him but those three.

That *Browne*, who commanded in chiefe as Colonel of Dragooners, was one of the first that ran away.

That our men are very hearty with their Victory, & the

the ſpoyles of the killed (as Horſes, Armes, Buff-coats, Money in their pockets) & the Enemie (as they heare) much diſheartned, and not likely to make ſo great haſte from about Worceſter as they meant.

THE CORNETTS MOTTOES.

Pro Rege & Regno.
Exurgat & Diſcipabuntur.
Pro Rege & Religione,
Si pro Patria Morior non Moror.

The reſt ſo torne, the *Mottoes* could not bee Read.

FINIS.

30

A DEEP SIGH BREATHD Through the Lodgings At WHITE-HALL.

Deploring the abſence of the COVRT,

And the Miſeries of the PALLACE.

LONDON,
Printed for *N. V.* and *J. B.* 1642.

A DEEP SIGH
BREATH'D THROUGH THE LODGINGS AT VVHITE-HALL.

A Pallace without a Preſence! A *White-Hall* clad in ſable veſtments! A Court without a Court! Theſe are miſteries, and miſeries, which the ſilken ages of this peacefull Iſland have not beene acquainted with. That the Feild ſhould be turn'd to Court, and the Court into a deſert! Majeſty had wont to ſit inthron'd within thoſe glorious Walls, darting their ſplendour with more awfull brightneſſe then the great Luminaries in the Firmament, And with the ſame life and vigour Cheriſhing the hearts of their admiring followers, And creating to thoſe Favourites on whom their beames of grace reflected, names of honour, and eſtates to maintaine it till the Worlds end, and now all things as in a *Chaos*, involv'd and wrap't up in the black miſts of confuſion, and deſolation.

To begin at the entrance into the Court, where there had wont to be a continuall throng, either of Gallants ſtanding to raviſh themſelves with the ſight of Ladies handſome Legs and Inſteps as they tooke Coach; Or of the tribe of guarded Liveries, by whom you could ſcarce paſſe without a jeare or a ſaucy anſwer to your queſtion; now if you would aske a queſtion there is no body to make anſwer, no nor to ſtop a purſuing Bayly, if you ſhould take that for your Sanctuary.

If you have no more manners of your ſelfe, you may piſſe in the Porters Lodge, and never feare the loſſe of your Hat, for neither the Gyant that ſtood there to be ſeene, nor he that ſtood there to take gratuities, are now in *rerum natura*.

Being entred the Court-yard which had wont to be a Schoole of Complement, where the young Courtiers uſ'd to ſhew their new brought over *French* cringes, and the whole body wrigled into a geſture of Salutation; Now if you have a mind to exerciſe ther's room enough, you may complement againſt the Lenten pulpit, and no body to laugh at you.

You may without a rub, walke into the Hall, for ſurely there are no ſtrong ſmells out of the Kitching to delight your Noſtrells withall, no Proviſion to bee ſould, nor the greaſie Scullions to bee ſeene over Head and Eares in a Kettle full of Kidnies, nor any thing elſe to ſtoppe your progreſſe into the Houſe. And when you are in the Hall, for ought I know, you might as well have kept you out on't unleſſe you would diſcourſe with Miſtres Eccho, or play at Shitle-Cocke by your ſelfe, for ther's no body to play with you.

If you ſteppe up Staires to the Guard Chamber, where His Majeſties great Beefe-eaters had wont to ſit in attendance on their places, which was nothing but to tell Tales, devoure the beaverage, keepe a great fire, and carry up Diſhes, wherein their fingers would bee ſometimes before they came to the Kings Table, now they are all vaniſht, nothing left but the bare Walls, and a cold Harth, from whence the Fire-irones are removed too, and as 'its thought converted into ſhooes for light Horſes. The great black-Jackes ſet under the Table, all full of Cobwebs, and the drinking Diſhes being pocket carriage, you cannot but divine their fate.

You may walke into the Preſence Chamber with your Hat, Spurres, and Sword on, And if you will preſume to be ſo unmannerly, you may ſit downe in the Chaire of State, and no body ſay blacks your Eye, for now a-dayes common men doe ſit in the Chaire of State.

If you be minded to ſurvey the Lodgings and withdrawing rooms, you ſhall finde thoſe rich and coſtly hangings of *Perſian Arras* and *Turky*-worke, (like the Biſhops) for their pride taken downe, And ſome (like the Biſhops) thrown in the *Tower*, and the reſt clapt cloſe

Priſo-

Priſoners in the Wardrop, unleſſe it were thoſe that (like the Biſhop) made eſcape to *Yorke* before the wars began, The very walls as if they were ſenſible of this calamitie, doe weepe downe their plaiſter in griefe that their Ornaments ſhould ſuffer ſo hard a fortune.

I ſhould lead you into the Bed-Chamber, but that the Genlemen, and Grooms of it would take me for a ſaucy fellow, beſides it may be a queſtion whether there be a Bed left there or no, for the Chamber to be cali'd ſo by.

But you may imploy your time in peeping into the out Offices, And leſt the cloſe-houſe ſhould offend your ſtomack, you may pleaſe to walke out upon that Exchange of Projectors, the Tarras, where th'Attendants upon the Councell Table had wont to coole their toes, and by their whiſpering conſultations digeſt every trade into the forme of monopolies, and invent arguments of the Kingdoms good and his Majeſties benefit to put forward the ſame, Now you may walke a whole day and not a great Ruffe, a Satin Cap with eares, and a bag of informations by his ſide, (the Emblem of a Patten-tee) to be ſeene.

There is no uſe of the Councell Board it ſelfe, a bare Vote of the Houſe of Commons is of validity to fruſtrate or at leaſt controwle an Act of State.

The compting houſe which uſ'd to have a conſtant attendance of importunate ſuitors, is a place grown out of remembrãce; And though you would give a Cofferrer's Clarke 20.l. to helpe you to 30, your Debentur will not be accepted, unleſſe you pleaſe to leave the bribe with him till ſuch time as *Iupiter* come down againe in a ſhower of Gould: And then upon the faith of a Courtier, you may believe you ſhall receive your money, in the meane time if you be minded to waite, you will not be diſcouraged, for ther's no body left to give you a ſurly anſwer.

At the Lodgings of the ſeverall Lords and Gentlemen, where the ſmell and odour of the perfumes and tinctures of a mornings curling, and dreſſing, made your attendance not to ſeem tedious but gave a delight to your frequent and long ſolicitation, now ther's nothing but the raw ſent of moiſt walls, and all as ſilent as midnight.

If you love faſting you may goe to the Chappell, but as for praying there is no ſuch thing within thoſe walls, unleſſe you can pray for your ſelfe, which if you can doe according to the way of praying now uſed, it is then a queſtiõ whether you wil be drawn to go into ſo

ſuperſtitious a place as that is, if there were any Service, as there is none.

In the Cockpit and Revelling Roomes, where at a Play or Maſque the darkeſt night was converted to the brighteſt Day that ever ſhin'd, by the luſter of Torches, the ſparkling of rich Jewells, and the variety of thoſe incomparable and excellent Faces, from whence the other derived their brightneſſe, where beauty ſat inthron'd in ſo full glory, that had not *Phaeton* fir'd the World, there had wanted a Comparative whereunto to paralell the refulgencie of their bright-ſhining ſplendor, Now you may goe in without a Ticket or the danger of a broken-pate, you may enter at the Kings ſide, walke round about the Theaters, view the Pullies, the Engines, conveyances, or contrivances of every ſeveral Scæne And not an Uſher o'th Revells, or Engineere to envy or finde fault with your diſcovery, although they receive no gratuitie for the ſight of them.

There is no preſſe at the Wine-Sellor Dores and Windowes, no gaping noiſe amongſt the angry Cookes in the Kitchings, no wayting for the opening of the Poſterne-dore to take water at the Stayres, no racket nor balling in the Tenis Court, no throng nor rumbling of Coaches before the Court Gates, but all in a dumbe ſilence, as the Pallace ſtood not neere a well peopled City, but as if it were the decay'd buildings of ruin'd *Troy*, where ſcarce a paſſenger is known to tread once in twenty yeares.

The Officers in ordinary ſince they knew the price of Victualls by experience at their owne charge, are growne warie husbands, and ſeldome ſeene in Tavernes, becauſe a great part of their Revenew which had wont to be ſpent there, is now beſtowed the other way.

The Rangers, and Keepers of the Parkes, doe ſay that inſtead of Shoulders, Heads and Umbles for Fees, they are faine (poore ſoules God helpe them) to take whole Deere to themſelves, And therefore you may ceaſe your admiration at the miracle of ſo great ſtore of Veniſon, to be ſould at the Cookes-ſhops about *London* this yeare.

The Pages and Gentlemen-Uſhers, who had wont to receive bribes for preferring of Dancing Maſters, Perſumers, Jewelles, Tire-Women, Confectioners, Glovers, Silkemen, &c. to Court cuſtome, have now leſſe money then the groomes, in reſpect the Lords and

Ladies

Ladies being retir'd from the Court have abated much of the changable Gallantry whereunto they had wont every day to metamorphiſe themſelves.

'Tis thought the Maydes of honour will now be content to take Country Eſquires for their Husbands, and that of leſſe eſtates then a thouſand pounds *Per Annum*, becauſe they imagine the King and Queens Favour to be no perpetuall inheritance.

The wayting Gentle-women whoſe wits were ſo ſharpe ſet that you could not deliver a meſſage without a ſcoffe, and were ſure to have a full relation made to her Lady of your forme, your carriage, your garbe, language and whole deportment, and it ſerv'd to make ſufficient diſcourſe to keepe favour, being now in the Country are growne into greene ſickneſſes, and deepe conſumptions, with very griefe that the Tenants are ſo dull headed that they cannot underſtand Court-jeaſts, whereby their wits are deprived of their proper commendations.

The Sticklers or Women of truſt, that held favour by keeping ſweetmeats from the whole Family, and eating them themſelves, and by giving inteligence of the faults of the houſhould, are growne reaſonable honeſt of their bodies, becauſe the Country affords no provocatives above Turky Egs, Artichokes, Butter'd-Ale and Hony-ſops, which certainly are not ſo great incendiaries of rebellious bloud, as Muskadell Caudells, and Amber poſſets, wherewith their fine chaps were ſo fed that they were grown to ſuch a height of body as requir'd private conference with the Groome o'th Chambers to tame it, And yet a ſtranger might not aproach them without a reverent complement, and kiſſing their white hands though they were forſooth but newly come from off the cloſe-ſtoole.

The Chambermaides and Damſells of the Napery too are all diſperſt, ſome are gone downe to the Ditchers, and Herdſ-men their Fathers, there to weare out the Silkes, the Scarfes, and broad Laces, and then returne to honeſt ruſſet, and dreſſings wrought with *Coventry* blue againe, ſome are eene faine to accept of the honeſt Coachmans motion, and clap up a match with him, and ſo be enabled to keepe a Country Ale-houſe, and live by the ſinnes of the Yeamonry, and others for their more peculiar qualities diſperſt into *London* and entertain'd by the Citizens Wives to teach their *Parakeeto's* to talke, which is all they'r good for.

If at any time you deſire to ſee any body in, or neere the Court, that

that belongs to it; goe just about the shutting in of evening, And then perhaps, you may see one creeping away with a Sack of Coles on his back, another with a bundle of Fagots, another with bottells of Wine, another bartering with a Vinegerman about certaine Vessells of decaied beere, &c. for every thing would live by it's owne element as long as it can: But when all's gone, they'l be all gone too, and will be within a very short time if the times doe not alter.

Thus you see poore *White-Hall* is miserably deserted of all its darlings, from Majesty to muckery, forsaken and left in the most solitary condition that ever any Princes Court of so great eminence and Hospitality in the whole World was. Now I should proceede to give you the reasons of this great alteration, And perhaps had this beene printed at *Yorke* I might have done it, But as the case is I forbeare, I would be loth to have the House pul'd downe where it is printed, and besides I have no stomack or affection to be torne to peeces in *Cheap-side*, and though my braines be muddy I would not have them wash't in the kennell, And therefore as silence is the true signe of mourning, I will grieve inwardly for this distraction, and leave prating of it.

BRITISH MUSEUM

FINIS.



A True and Joyfull

RELATION

Of a Famous and Remarkable

VICTORY OBTAINED BY

the Inhabitants of Glamorganshire in VVales, against the Marqueſſe of Hartford, and the Cavaleers, who had took the Caſtle of Cardiffe in the ſaid County. October the 3. 1642.

Seymour K. 44

Alſo the manner how they obtained the Victory, killing fifty of the Cavaleers, with the loſſe of nine men, and after five hours fight obtained the Caſtle, putting them all to flight.

Together with the means of the flight of the Marqueſſe of Hartford into VVales, and the Victorious proceedings of the Earl of *Bedford* againſt his Confederates, his taking the Lord *Pawlet*, Sir *Henry Berkley*, and two of his brothers Sir *Charles* and Sir *John Berkes* priſoners.

LONDON:

Printed for H. Fowler. October 5.

True and Happy

NEWES

FROM

WALES

Declaring the Proceedings of the Marquesse of Hartford in Glamorgan shire.

THe Earl of *Bedford* since his last and Happy Victory over the *Marquesse of Hartford*, the *Lord Paules*, and the rest of their *Confederates*, except Sir *Ralph Hopton*, one of the greatest incendiaries in that oppolition and Rebel-

lion, who is departed from them; and is escaped privatly (as it is surmised) and returned back again into *Somersetshire*, but there his welcome and entertainment wil be very mean and slender, were chased and pursued to *Minhead* by the Earl of Bedford, where the Marqnis according to his expectation, but contrary to his desire found and was entertained, and received by some Coal ships,

Yet the Earl of Bedford had formerly used all possible means for the preservation and stoppage of his passage over *Severn*.

Notwithstanding all which means formerly used by the Earl, for the prevention of the Marquesse his flight, having gotten the opportunity and conduct of these small Coal ships, which then lay in the Harbour, he got over the River, and escaped into Wales, and by that means escaped the Justice of the pursuing Enemy. Yet notwithstanding this unhappy escape, and the Earls hopes to compasse his ends, the cause of all his labours and vexations,

being

being frustrate by the escape of the Marquesse, he did not desist from his purpose but did pursue them with all the violence he possibly could, and at the last came in view of them, and being seconded with a happy successe, he was made in part Master of his Desires, for although he could not watch the Marquesse who by the help of those Wale ships had escaped into Wales, yet he took the Lord Paulet, Sir Henry Berkly, and two of his Brothers, whom he hath now in custody, and as soon as with conveniency he can, he will send them up to the Parliament, that by them they may receive condign punishment.

By Letters from the well affected party in Wales, it was signified, that the M. of Hartford had possessed himself of Cardiffe Castle in Glamorgan-shire, and was resolved to seize upon all Cattels that belonged to the E. of Pembrook, but so soon as the Inhabitants of that County had information of it, they gathered a head, and gave battle against the Marquesse, at Cardiffe, killing some 53. with the losse of 9. men.

The

The Earle of Pembrookes Proceedings in Wiltshire.

Since the beginning of these present troubles in *England*, most of the Counties of this Kingdom have bin first or last divided among themselves, and are not as yet composed.

Amongst which Counties the County of *Wiltshire* did challenge a part, which untill within these few dayes was divided very much, and did so continue until the Earl of *Pembroke* his going downe, whose comming hath done very much good in those parts, and so setled the minds and affections of the *Inhabitants* thereabouts, that now they are not to be doubted of their constancy and fidelity to the *Parliament*.

At his first comming down he opened unto them all his Majesties Proceedings, shewing them to be against the *Priviledge of Parliament, and the Liberty of the Subiect*,

and

and that His present proceedings in war are destructive and opposite both to the Laws of the Kingdome, and his own oath taken at his Coronation.

When the Earl had thus farre instructed them concerning His Majesties present Proceedings, they were not long before they did unanimously consent unto what was desired them by the Earle of *Pembrooke*, but all placed themselves in a good posture of Warre, and did declare their readinesse and willingnesse to stand for the *King and Parliament*, against all that shall endeavour any way to disturbe the peace of that County, and also promised both with their lives and fortunes, liberties and goods, to promote and to maintain the Proceedings of *Parliament*, so much as in them lay.

The Kingdome of *Scotland* hath appointed 8. Commissioners four whereof are Earls, to present a Declaration to the *Parliament*, and a Petition to His Majesty the effect whereof was as followeth.

That

That His Majeſty would be pleaſed to leave his Evill Counſellours, and return to his Parliament, wherby a firme Peace may be ſetled betwixt them, and that the Synod for the ſetling of Religion may go on, and ſome other ſuch like Propoſitions tending to peace, which if His Majeſty ſhall refuſe to hearken unto, they do Declare, that they ſhall be inforced in duty to His Majeſty, to take up Arms to aſſiſt their *Brethren in England.*

FINIS.

V

O

N

A WICKED And Inhumane PLOT

Of *Nicholas Parney*, a French Dancer, living at *Weſtminſter*.
Miſtreſſe *Greene*, a School-woman at *Bednall Greene*.
Daniel Godlinton, a Taylor, his wife, and *Matthew Godlinton*, his Son, Inhabitants of *Bednall Greene*.

Againſt Sir *Balthazar Gerbier*, Knight,
Maſter of Ceremonies to the KING.

As appeares upon examination of Witneſſes before the Honourable, Sir John Conyers, *and* Nathaniel Snape, Eſq; *On* Sept. 23. 1642.

London Printed, 1642.

A

IT is manifeſt by the examination of witneſſes (here after mentioned) taken by the Honorable Sir *John Conyers* Knight Lieutenant of his Majeſties Tower Royall, and *Nathaniel Snape*, Eſquire, that one *Nicholas Parney* a French man, and a Dancer (who dwels at *Weſtminſter*) hath rayſed and ſpread a moſt falſe and injurious bruit, and hath given notice to Maſter *Wanſworth* and *Ralens* both of them Meſſengers, concerning ſeven Prieſts, which were hid in vaults at a Papiſts houſe on *Bednall Greene*, whereof they ſhould have further knowledge by enquiring at Miſtris *Greenes* a Schoolemiſtris on *Bednall Greene*, where that Papiſts houſe was: Thither Maſter *Ralens* went on Sunday morning, being the fourth of *September*, where he was adviſed by one of Miſtris *Greenes* folkes to goe to the houſe of Sir *Balthazar Gerbier* the *Dutch* Knight, and that there they ſhould finde Papiſt Prieſts hid in vaults; with this anſwer *Ralens* goeth to Maſter *Wandſworth* (who ſtayed for him at the Black Bull on *Bednall Greene*) who well knowing that Sir *Balthazar Gerbier* was no Papiſt, but a Proteſtant, which *Ralens* learned likewiſe by the Hoſt of

the aforesaid Alehouse, that he with his Family were gone to receive the Communion at *Stepney* Church, indeavoured to divert *Ralens* and his attendants to Bishops Hall, though *Ralens* would have raised more people to have set on Sir *Balthazar Gerbeir*'s house: Here he pulled out his notes, and advertisements given by *Parney* the Dancer, who had made one Master *Trelany* understand that the *Dutch* Knight was a Papist, and that for certain, Papist Priests were to be found in his house; The bruit hereof increased so much since that time, that multitude of men came from *Whitechappell* to that purpose, who meeting with one *White* an inhabitant of *Whitechappell*, whom they would compell to leade them thither, but he escaped from them, though not without blowes.

Then the bruit fled as farre as *Drurylane*, from whence a sort of men, some fiftie in number, were going thither, as Master *John Mordant* Sollicitor living in the Strand overheard; others were said to be on their way from Shorditch, others againe from Hackney, and of this, intimation was given by one *Nabor* of Hackney, adding withall, that it was reported among them, that Sir *Balthazar Gerbier* had six Brasse Pieces in his House, wherewith he might batter downe all the houses on the Greene: This did so affright the Neighbours, that many of them advised Sir *Balthazar Gerbier* to take some order for the securitie of his Family and goods, for that divers had threatned to pull downe his house, which was likewise advertised

vertiſed to ſome of the Watch, who were warned to abſent themſelves from their nightly guard, for the reaſon aforeſaid: Whereof the Lords, and others of the Committe for the ſafetie of the Kingdome having taken notice, iſſued an order, Signed by the Earle of *Eſſex*, requiring all Juſtices of Peace, and other his Majeſties Officers to take a ſpeciall care for the ſecuring the ſaid houſe from violence, But the malice of this *Parney* the Dancer and his abetters (*viz.* Miſtris *Greene* the Schoole Miſtris, *Godlington* a Taylor, with his wife and Sonne) was ſo full, that by them, ſtragling Souldiers were daily ſent to moleſt the houſe of Sir *Balthazar Geroier*, and all on that malicious report and falſe pretence, that he was a Papiſt.

This paſſage is well knowne to *William Sanderſon* Eſquire, (lying that night at Sir *Balthazar Gerbiers*) who about ſix of the clocke in the morning heard *Godlington* bid certaine Souldiers which lay lurking about the dore to goe into Sir *Balthazar Gerbiers* ground, and withall pointed them out the way, and ſo they did, but being conſtrained at that time to retire by the ſervants of the houſe, choſe another time, and re-entred in a greater number, whiles Sir *Balthazar Gerbier* & his family were at their Pariſh Church, pretending they were to lodge in his houſe by authority, when as their quarter Maſters Warrant ſpake cleane contrary.

They nevertheleſſe threatned to call the whole troope, and this before good and ſufficient wit-

 neſſe:

neſſe: but the Quarter-Maſter at length acknowledged his error: and as he deſired Sir *Balthazar Gerbier* not to complaine of him to the Parliament, ſo he ingeniouſly confeſſed that he was ſet on, and ſent by the Schoole-miſtriſſe, and others thither of her ill neighbours: the chiefeſt of which appeareth to be the wife of *Godlington* a Taylor, for that ſhe ſeeing one Maſter *Peake* knocking at the doore that opened on the Greene, told him, that hee might ſpare his paines in knocking there, for that none but Prieſts entred that way, but that they did, although at Midnight.

This report ran alſo to the old Exchange, where it was ſpoken, that Sir *Balthazar Gerbier* was a Papiſt, and that Maſſe was ſaid in his Houſe every day; and with this many in the adjacent Villages of *London* have been miſ-led, and that becauſe of the reſort of Ambaſſadors to his Houſe, which is indeed in conſequence of his place, to know the dayes of their Audience: Whereby his Houſe hath not only been endangered of ranſacking, but hee himſelfe ſaid guilty of a crime, no leſſe than Treaſon; For ſuch the Laws of the Land make the keepers of Papiſt Prieſts

Neither did the malice of this *Parry* the Dancer and his abettors end here; but hath got into the Church, to abuſe Sir *Balthazar Gerbier* even there, and did inſtigate Mrs. *Greene*, and other perſons, and that ſeverall times, to breake and pull downe his Pew, which of right belongeth to him, as being built by Mr. *Seabright* (ſometimes Towne-Clerke)

Clerke, the Founder of his Houſe, as is atteſted by the Lady *Heſter Pye*, Sir *Nicholas Criſp*, Kni. *Samuel Criſp*, Eſq; *Roger Charnochs*, *Francis Zachary*, *John Frine*, *Edw. Edgeworth* Curate, *Thomas Pye*, Church-warden of *Stepney*, and Mr. *Nicholas Dickens*; And even by the other Church-wardens too, who aver that no man, much leſſe Mrs. *Greene* was ever placed therein by them, or their conſents, who alſo have deſired her to forbeare moleſting Sir *Balthazar Gerbier* in his undeniable right, atteſted by *Thomas Pye*, *John Berry*, *Robert Clement*, and *Ed. Kidden*, Church-wardens.

By this the malice of *Parry*, Mrs. *Greene*, and the reſt is ſufficiently argued to Sir *Balthazar Gerbier*, and his Family, who never gave juſt cauſe of exception, or of doubt to any, in the integrity, and conſtant profeſſion of the Reformed Religion, in which he was borne, and ſuffered for the ſame in the wombe of his Mother, who being with Child, fled from the bloody Perſecution of the French againſt the Proteſtants.

This being well known to many, hath moved him to publiſh the ſame in Print, thereby to diſabuſe thoſe who have been miſinformed by the ſcandalous and malicious reports raiſed againſt one who may expect a generall good opinion, for the ſufficient proofes of this fidelity to the State, and eſpecially during his eleven yeares reſidence abroad, and other publike imployment, of which there needes no greater evidence than his indeavours and carriage, for they are matters of fact.